The Making and Uses of the Image of Hungary and Transylvania

Teszelszky, Kees

Despite fragmentation, heterogeneity and the continuous pressure of the Ottoman Empire, early modern "divided Hungary" witnessed a surprising cultural flourishing in the sixteenth century, and maintained its common cultural identity in the seventeenth century. This could hardly have been possible without intense exchange with the rest of Europe. This three-volume series about early modern Hungary divided by Ottoman presence approaches themes of exchange of information and knowledge from two perspectives, namely, exchange through traditional channels provided by religious/educational institutions and the system of European study tours (*Volume 1 – Study Tours and Intellectual-Religious Relationships*), and the less regular channels and improvised networks of political diplomacy (*Volume 2 – Diplomacy, Information Flow and Cultural Exchange*). A by-product of this exchange of information was the changing image of early modern Hungary and Transylvania, which is presented in the third and in some aspects concluding volume of essays (*Volume 3 – The Making and Uses of the Image of Hungary and Transylvania*). Unlike earlier approaches to the same questions, these volumes draw an alternative map of early modern Hungary. On this map, the centre-periphery conceptions of European early modern culture are replaced by new narratives written from the perspective of historical actors, and the dominance of Western-Hungarian relationships is kept in balance due to the significance of Hungary's direct neighbours, most importantly the Ottoman Empire.

The editors of the volumes—**Gábor Almási**, **Szymon Brzeziński**, **Ildikó Horn**, **Kees Teszelszky** and **Áron Zarnóczki**—are based at Hungarian, Polish and Dutch institutions of historical research. Their collaboration is the result of a joint research programme generously financed by the Hungarian Scientific Research Fund and carried out at the Eötvös Loránd University of Budapest.

Cover image: The map by Joan Blaeu (Amsterdam 1664), dedicated to Ferenc Nádasdy, illustrates the Kingdom of Hungary. Photograph by National Széchényi Library, Map Department, Budapest.

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A Divided Hungary in Europe

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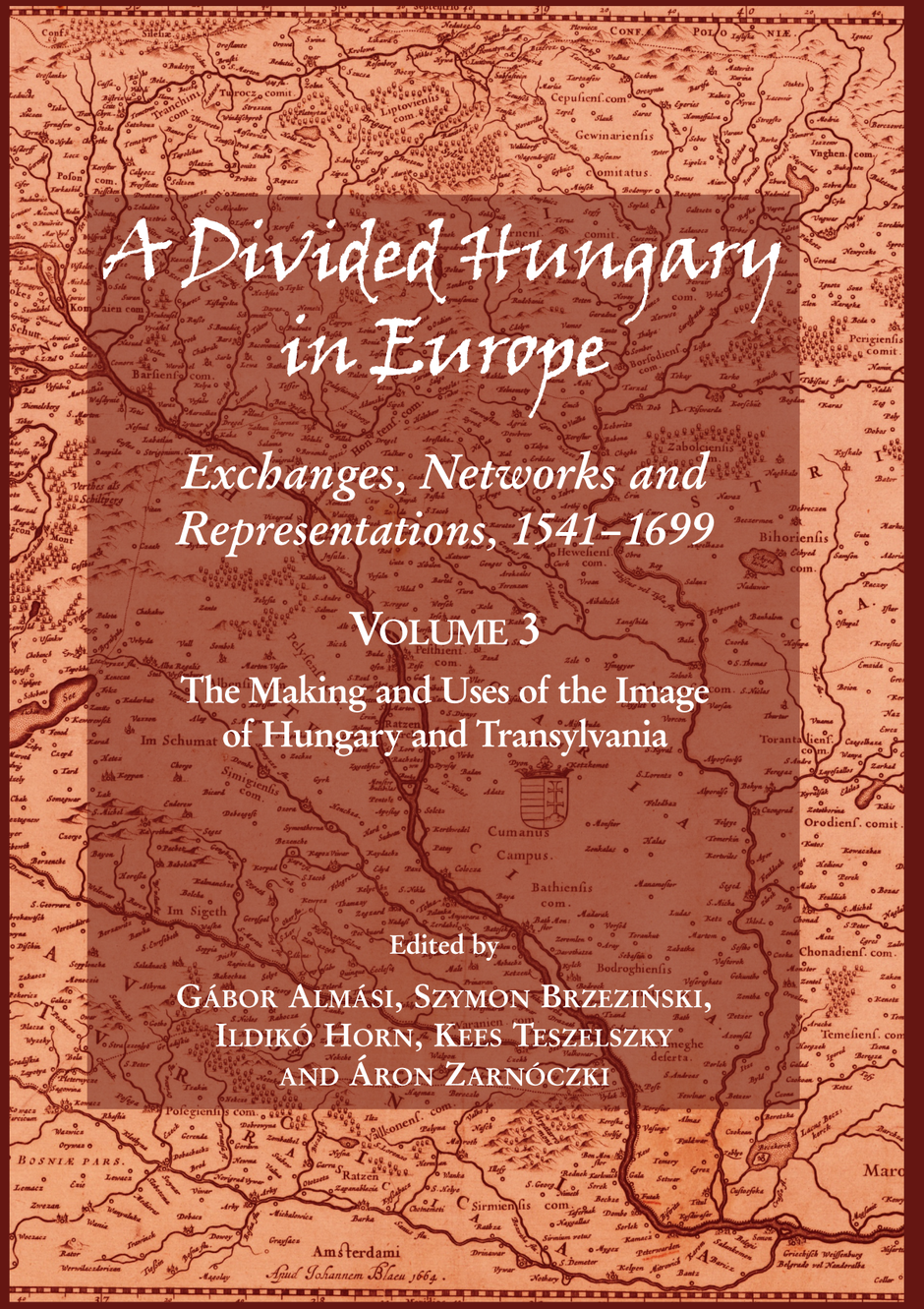

A Divided Hungary in Europe

Exchanges, Networks and Representations, 1541–1699

Volume 3

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Edited by

Gábor Almási, Szymon Brzeziński, Ildikó Horn, Kees Teszelszky and Áron Zarnóczki

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PREFACE

A Divided Hungary in Europe: Exchanges, Networks, and Representations, 1541−1699 is a three-volume series, which is the result of the collaboration of 29 scholars engaged in the study of the history of early modern Hungary and Europe. The work has been initiated and conducted by the research programme "Hungary in early modern Europe," financed by the Hungarian Scientific Research Fund (OTKA), and headed by Professor Ágnes R. Várkonyi at the Eötvös Loránd University of Budapest.[1] Our fundamental purpose was to provide state-of-the-art knowledge of early modern Hungary in a European context for an English-speaking audience. The title of the series may sound self-explanatory, but in the case of early modern "Hungary," one needs to make a number of precursory remarks.

The medieval Kingdom of Hungary, which included Croatia in a personal union from the beginning of the twelfth century, gradually fell apart under Ottoman pressure after the fatal battle of 1526. This tragic battle, fought on the plain of Mohács, where even the young King Louis II lost his life in the swamps, meant the end of the large, independent kingdom, founded by King Saint Stephen in the year 1000. More directly, it led to a civil war between the parties of the new national king, John Szapolyai (1526–1540), and the Habsburg king, Ferdinand I (1526−1564), who had contractual rights for ruling the kingdom. Before Buda was captured by the Ottomans in 1541, Saint Stephen's Kingdom had already been in the process of falling into three territorial-political units: "Royal Hungary"—the legal heir of the Kingdom of Hungary—under the Habsburgs, which continued to include Croatia; Transylvania and the eastern stripe of the country (called Partium),[2] which soon had to give up

[1] The research programme was hosted by the Department of Medieval Early Modern History at the Eötvös Loránd University of Budapest. We gratefully thank the support of the Hungarian Scientific Research Fund (OTKA, no. 81948) in financing this book project. We would also like to express our gratitude to Professor Ágnes R. Várkonyi, who guided this research programme with wisdom and discreetness.

[2] The so-called Partium (*Partium Regni Hungariae, Partes adnexae*) comprised the northern and eastern parts of the Kingdom of Hungary, which became connected to the Principality of Transylvania after its formation, without being a formal part of

pretences to the crown, rapidly developing into an Ottoman vassal state; and finally the areas that fell under Ottoman occupation with a frontier that continued moving mainly at the expense of "Royal Hungary."

Transylvania, adopting the ambiguous status of a semi-autonomous Ottoman satellite state, at the same time became a secondary repository of Hungarian political traditions and a bastion of the Protestant churches, hence a permanent embarrassment to the Habsburgs. What remained of Hungary proper on the north-western part of the former kingdom, however, was unable to withstand Ottoman pressure without continuous Habsburg support. The resources of this land were in a great part consumed by military expenses, apparently more than was the case in the new Principality of Transylvania.

Although Hungary as one of Europe's significant powers ceased to exist, the fiction—or ideal—of a unified country survived during the more than 150 years of Ottoman rule. This was also reflected on most of the maps prepared of Hungary, which kept ignoring the Ottomans and insisted on a medieval vision of the land. (The map on the cover of this book, distinguishing between "Hungaria Turcica" and "Hungaria Austriaca," is one of the few exceptions.[3]) Naturally, in nourishing the idea of a glorious past state, the principal actors were the ruling class, held together by common legal-political traditions and cultural heritage. Nonetheless, the unifying forces of cultural and religious practices and institutions were significant also at lower levels of society, especially among the learned. The churches in divided Hungary disregarded political fragmentation. Protestant churches and Catholic missionaries alike were free to organise themselves in "Ottoman Hungary," becoming the major cohesive forces of the area.

In legitimating this project that treats the parts of "divided Hungary" altogether and places the question of cultural exchange in its centre, one might easily overemphasise cohesive forces and a common territorial-historical consciousness. This is certainly not one of our goals. The fact that Buda was reconquered in 1686 and the Ottomans were entirely expelled from Hungary by 1699 should not influence our interpretation of past events in a deterministic way. By the second half of the sixteenth century,

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it. The territory originally (in 1570) consisted of the counties Bihar, Zaránd, Kraszna, Máramaros, Middle Szolnok, but underwent numerous changes in territorial range due to the Ottoman expansion an struggles between the Habsburgs and Transylvania.

[3] This map of the "Kingdom of Hungary" drawn by the Dutch cartographer Joan Blaeu and dedicated to Ferenc Nádasdy, lord chief justice of Hungary, also indicates a part of Transylvania ("Transylvaniae pars").

Transylvania was already a distinct, independent principality—independent at least of the Habsburg Monarchy—and was considered, and desired to be considered, more and more as such abroad. Moreover, Transylvania had been and remained different from the rest of "divided Hungary" in many respects. This was most apparent in its political structure, in the curious system of three nations—the Hungarian nobility, the Saxons and the Székelys—represented at the Transylvanian Diet, and in the proportionally greater power and wealth of the prince, whose election was nonetheless controlled by the Sublime Porte. Aristocratic landowners were considerably poorer here, to the point that we can hardly speak of the check of the estates in Transylvania. Needless to say, "Ottoman Hungary," integrated administratively into the Ottoman Empire, was even more different than Transylvania in regard to the Kingdom of Hungary, both in its political-economic system and cultural life, which were dominated, at least in the major cities, by an Ottoman presence.

This is not to say that individual parts of "divided Hungary" were not themselves fragmented and heterogeneous—something that was far from exceptional in early modern Europe, but nonetheless deserves to be emphasised. The lands of the Holy Crown of Saint Stephen were populated by a great number of ethnically, linguistically, culturally and religiously different groups, some of them enjoying political autonomy, like the population of Croatia—most of them Catholic Slavs—or the Lutheran Saxons in Transylvania, and some lacking any political recognition, like the Orthodox Romanians spread out in Transylvania. Besides heterogeneity, we should also stress the lack of a real capital, that is, a political centre with a royal court and a university. In the Kingdom of Hungary, political life was organised in the shadow of the Viennese imperial court, which attracted few Hungarians (unlike in the eighteenth century). Higher education gained impetus with the establishment of the Jesuit University of Nagyszombat (Trnava)[4]—on the western edges of the country—only in the seventeenth century. It was primarily the aristocratic courts and city schools that made up for the lack of a political, cultural and educational centre. In the case of Transylvania, the princely court could only

[4] In referring to place names in historical Hungary, there is no good solution that equally satisfies all researchers of the Carpathian Basin. Since each country (Hungary, Slovakia, Ukraine, Romania, Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia and Austria) which shares parts of the Kingdom of Hungary have their own historical traditions in the use of place names, while English-language publications vary in usage and concur only in a very few names (like the use of the German name Pressburg for Bratislava/Pozsony), we have decided to stick to the Hungarian tradition and mention the present version of place names in parentheses.

periodically compete in importance with the major cities such as Kolozsvár (Cluj), Nagyszeben (Sibiu), or Brassó (Braşov).

Despite fragmentation, heterogeneity and the continuous pressure of the Ottoman Empire, war-ridden "divided Hungary" saw a surprising cultural flourishing in the sixteenth century and maintained its common cultural identity also in the seventeenth century. This could hardly be possible without intense exchange with the rest of Europe, which has been the principal subject of our research programme.

This series of volumes approaches themes of exchange of information and knowledge from two perspectives: exchange through traditional channels provided by religious/educational institutions and the system of European study tours (Volume 1: *Study Tours and Intellectual-Religious Relationships*), and the less regular channels and improvised networks of political diplomacy (Volume 2: *Diplomacy, Information Flow and Cultural Exchange*). A by-product of this exchange of information was the changing image of early modern Hungary and Transylvania, which is presented in the third and in some aspects concluding volume of essays (Volume 3: *The Making and Uses of the Image of Hungary and Transylvania*). Unlike earlier approaches to the same questions, these volumes intend to draw an alternative map of early modern Hungary. On this map, the centre-periphery conceptions of European early modern culture will be replaced by new narratives written from the perspective of historical actors, and the dominance of Western-Hungarian relationships are kept in balance with openness to the significance of Hungary's direct neighbours, most importantly the Ottoman Empire.

The invited authors of the volumes comprise key historians interested in questions of cultural history. The majority of them are Hungarian, working for academic institutions with a keen eye on both archival and printed sources. One of the goals of the volumes is to make their work known to a foreign language public in a coherent framework, dealing with some of the key questions that set the cultural and intellectual horizon and determined the image of early modern Hungary.

The editors

IN SEARCH OF HUNGARY IN EUROPE: AN INTRODUCTION

KEES TESZELSZKY

This volume investigates how the exchange of knowledge and information influenced the development of the early modern image of divided Hungary in Europe. Divided Hungary must be understood as the composition of political communities which existed on the territory of the former medieval Kingdom of Hungary (which included Croatia and Transylvania) between 1541 and 1699.[1] However, the making of this image was not just a *by-product* of cultural exchange in Europe; it was a "product" extensively used and negotiated in the developing "public sphere."[2] Treated as information, news or the subject of public opinion, the image was utilized in the political communication in different European states to legitimate certain goals or to convince the audience of the rightness of a specific message.[3]

To understand the making and uses of this image, the authors of this volume focus on the diplomatic, intellectual and commercial networks of Europe, especially in the Holy Roman Empire (see the chapters by Etényi and Lénárt) and Italy (Kruppa). They also devote attention to the emerging

[1] For an overview of the history of divided Hungary between 1541 and 1699 in the English language, see: Á. R. Várkonyi, *Europica Varietas, Hungarica Varietas, 1526–1762: Selected Studies*, trans. by É. Pálmai et al. (Budapest 2000); G. Murdock, *Calvinism on the Frontier: International Calvinism and the Reformed Church of Hungary and Transylvania, c. 1600–1660* (Oxford 2000); G. Pálffy, *The Kingdom of Hungary and the Habsburg Monarchy in the Sixteenth Century*, trans. by T. J. DeKornfeld and H. D. DeKornfeld (Boulder, CO. 2009); *The European Tributary States of the Ottoman Empire in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, ed. by G. Kármán and L. Kunčević (Leiden 2013).

[2] On the concept of public sphere, cf. J. Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, trans. by T. Burger and F. Lawrence (Cambridge 1989), 51–56.

[3] On news, information and public opinion in the sixteenth century, cf. B. Dooley, *A Social History of Skepticism: Experience and Doubt in Early Modern Culture* (Baltimore 1999).

power of the sixteenth century, the Dutch Republic (Réthelyi and Teszelszky), and the perspective from the eastern part of Europe, specifically Poland-Lithuania (Brzeziński), Croatia (Kurelac), and Moldavia and Wallachia (Jakó).

The essays of this volume raise questions about the ways in which representation and propaganda concerning divided Hungary developed and the image of Hungary and the Hungarians was constructed. In particular, it is asked how the transmission of information influenced the textual and visual image of Hungary presented in contemporary printed and manuscript sources, and what relevant information exchange may reveal about the transformation of the early modern political culture in Europe. Finally, the authors also devote their attention to the question of how Hungary's image related to the development of a broader idea of Europe and the inclusion or exclusion of the Ottoman Empire.

To answer these questions, the authors of the volume necessarily rely on a multidisciplinary approach to European diplomacy and intellectual history, with special attention to the developing and intensifying political, commercial and cultural ties of the smaller powers. They also study the representation of these smaller powers in the printed and handwritten news in Europe, when some of them were at the height of their influence in European affairs.

Imagology

The studies in this book aim to contribute to our knowledge of the many ways the image of a divided Hungary and the Hungarians was created, spread, used and reused in Europe during the early modern period. The starting point of our analysis will be that the representation has never been a static one. An "image" can be considered as a snapshot of an ongoing dynamic process, in which a political and geographical entity, and the people which are associated with it, are mirrored in literature and art. The Dutch imagologist Joep Leerssen adequately describes this process with the metaphor "mirror palace of Europe."[4] The image of Hungary, constructed from specific individual elements which appear in various historical sources, can be known through a careful study of the many reflections of it in European culture.

[4] J. Leerssen, *Spiegelpaleis Europa: Europese cultuur als mythe en beeldvorming* [Mirror palace Europe: European culture as myth and formation of representation] (Nijmegen 2011).

According to the definition of Leerssen, imagology is "the study of an intellectual discourse on national characteristics and commonplaces."[5] Yet, it is not so much the empirical research into the knowledge of objective characteristics or the distribution of facts but much more the study of the use of commonplaces and the spread of hearsay. Commonplaces related to countries and peoples are often based on, or related to, age-old myths and fictions. Imagological discourses are spiced by human emotions, which are stirred up by the political or religious questions of the day. The imagined reality is also related to real life since images can affect political decisions. While the sources are rhetorically schematized, they are also essentially subjective. Thus the image we attempt to study is, as such, the ideological mirror of an intellectual discourse.[6]

Another, perhaps more precise, definition of Manfred Beller states that imagology examines the origin and function of the characteristics of other countries and people as expressed textually and visually.[7] Accordingly, it is the rhetorical use of topoi which becomes the carrier of stereotyped information of other people and social groups.

Imagology, national identity and Europe

As Peter Rietbergen has claimed, it is only when self-definition is necessary that people become self-reflective and describe their own identity with regard to the outside world.[8] In a sense, the early modern development of the image of divided Hungary and the Hungarians went hand in hand with the evolution of national identities in Europe. The way in which people, especially the elites, began to consider themselves as an autonomous political community and at the same time as a part of some greater unity has much to do with how they perceived the "other." Similarly as with national identity, the image of the "other" is a cultural construction based on well-known ancient and/or recently invented stereotypes, created with a specific ideological goal in mind. The concept of the Kingdom of

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[5] J. Leerssen, "Foreword," in *Imagology: The Cultural Construction and Literary Representation of National Characters: A Critical Survey*, ed. by M. Beller and J. Leerssen (Amsterdam 2007), xiii.

[6] B. Trencsényi and M. Zászkaliczky, "Towards an Intellectual History of Patriotism in East Central Europe in the Early Modern Period," in *Whose Love of Which Country? Composite States, National Histories and Patriotic Discourses in Early Modern East Central Europe*, ed. by B. Trencsényi and M. Zászkaliczky (Leiden 2010), 1–40.

[7] M. Beller, "Perception, Image, Imagology," in *Imagology*, 3–16.

[8] P. Rietbergen, *Europe: A Cultural History* (London 1998, repr. 2005), 210–211.

Hungary and Hungarians was thus expressed metaphorically in words and images. It was a reflection of intellectual thoughts or positive/negative emotions regarding this land and its peoples. Especially in times of political, religious, economic or social crisis, or confrontations like war, revolt or religious persecution, people felt the need to gather information on this concept, reflect on it and spread the newly constructed image based on these thoughts and feelings.

The development of the image of Hungary and Hungarians in Europe was thus an inclusive and an exclusive process at the same time. When people tried to define their place as a community in Europe, other people and geographical entities could serve as an including criterion, to express their bonds with them by stressing what they had in common. Still, these people and countries could also function as an excluding criterion for those who wanted to distinguish themselves from the world outside by stressing what separated them or made them different. It is therefore important to realise that the construction, development and spread of the image of lands and people could take place totally independent from the influence of the people or the country itself. Changes in image could take place completely autonomously, depending only on the political, social or religious dynamics of the actual community where the image was constructed. Images were constructed and altered most importantly in times of crisis or confrontation.

The construction of such an image is very much like the early modern way of presenting a political or religious message, often disguised in the form of a collection of commonplaces.[9] The original literal context of the commonplace is removed, and then it is added together with other similar quotes into a consistent text, reflecting the message of the new author. Similarly, a message could be composed by putting together a collection of historical examples which legitimated the political ideas of the author.[10] A good example is Justus Lipsius, who reused Hungarian stereotypes, quotes and historical examples for the composition of his works *Politica*,

[9] A. Moss, "The *Politica* of Justus Lipsius and the Commonplace-Book," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 59 (1998), 421–436.

[10] R. Bireley, *The Counter-Reformation Prince: Anti-Machiavellianism or Catholic Statecraft in Early Modern Europe* (Chapel Hill 1990), 72–100; J. Soll, "Introduction: The Uses of Historical Evidence in Early Modern Europe," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 64 (2003), 149–150; id., *Publishing* The Prince*: History, Reading, and the Birth of Political Criticism* (Ann Arbor 2005), 22–23; A. Grafton, *What Was History? The Art of History in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge 2007).

Admonites and *Diva Virgo Hallensis*.[11] These works became exceptionally well known all over Europe. The best example of a Renaissance compilation concerning Hungary is the influential history of Hungary by the Italian humanist Antonio Bonfini (c. 1492).[12]

In the following section, I will list some of the topoi and stereotypes which have played an important role in the development of an image of Hungarians and Hungary in the early modern period.

The Hungarian people and Hungary in Europe

The concept of "Hungarians" was coined first in medieval Europe when the Magyar tribes invaded Christian Europe in the ninth century and permanently settled in the Carpathian Basin in the following century.[13] As barbarian invaders, the infidel Hungarians were seen as equal to the Huns

[11] J. Lipsius, *Politicorum sive Civilis doctrinae libri sex* (Leiden 1589); id., *Diva Virgo Hallensis* (Antwerp 1604); id., *Monita et exempla politica. Libri duo, qui virtutes et vitia principum spectant* (Antwerp 1605); Cf. J. Papy, "The Use of Medieval and Contemporary Sources in the History of Louvain of Justus Lipsius (1547–1606): the Lovanium (1605) as a Case of Humanist Historiography," *Lias* 29 (2002), 45–62; J. Papy, "Justus Lipsius and Hungary: Exchange of Humanist Intellectual and Educational Programme," in *Hercules Latinus: Acta colloquiorum minorum…*, ed. by L. Havas and E. Tegyey (Debrecen 2006), 171–179; M. Janssens, *Collecting Historical Examples for the Prince. Justus Lipsius' Monita et exempla politica (1605) / Edition, Translation, Commentary and Introductory Study of an Early Modern Mirror-for-Princes* (PhD diss., Catholic University of Leuven, 2009). About Lipsius' perception of Hungary, see also N. Mout, "'Our People Are Dedicating Themselves to Mars rather than to Pallas.' Justus Lipsius (1547–1606) and His Perception of Hungary according to His Correspondence," in *Történetek a mélyföldről. Magyarország és Németalföld kapcsolata a kora újkorban*, ed. by R. Bozzay (Debrecen 2014), 398–442.

[12] A. Bonfini, *Rerum Ungaricarum decades tres* (Basel 1543). On Bonfini, see M. Birnbaum, *Humanists in a Shattered World*: *Croatian and Hungarian Latinity in the Sixteenth Century* (Columbus 1986), 14, 20, 46, 62–63. See also G. Almási, "Constructing the Wallach 'Other' in the Late Renaissance," in *Whose Love of Which Country*, 92.

[13] Cf. C. Macartney, *The Magyars in the Ninth Century* (Cambridge 1930); id., *The Medieval Hungarian Historians: A Critical and Analytical Guide* (London 1953); id., *Studies on Early Hungarian and Pontic History*, ed. by L. Czigány and L. Péter (Aldershot 1999); P. Engel, *The Realm of St. Stephen: A History of Medieval Hungary, 895–1526*, trans. by T. Pálosfalvi, ed. by A. Ayton (London 2001), 1–49; N. Berend, "How Many Medieval Europes? The 'Pagans' of Hungary and Regional Diversity in Christendom," in *The Medieval World*, ed. by P. Linehan and J. L. Nelson (London 2013), 77–92.

by medieval Europeans, hence their country was called *Hungaria* (Hungary). The Hungarian people occupied parts of the former Roman province of Pannonia, therefore this name was also used to denote people coming from Hungary.[14] The image of the Hungarians, associated with the people who inhabit the territory of Hungary, was consolidated into the Kingdom of Hungary as an objective geographical and political entity around 1000. At that time, the first king, Stephen I, from the native Árpád dynasty, was crowned and the Hungarian people were Christianised by his order. Hungary and the Hungarians joined the ranks of the Christian kingdoms of Europe, together forming Christian Europe.[15] The perception of Hungary and the Hungarian people was thus integrated in the concept of Europe. Notwithstanding, the alleged Hun-Hungarian descent continued to play a significant role in the descriptions and self-representations of Hungarians in Europe.[16]

Hungarian Saints

The medieval image of Hungary and the Hungarians was quite positive and popular due to the active promotion of the cult of the canonized members of the native Árpád dynasty from the eleventh century onwards. Texts, images, statues and songs of Saint Stephen I, Saint Emmerich, Saint Ladislaus and, most of all, of Saint Elisabeth of Thüringia/Hungary could be found all over Europe.[17] Another stimulus was the Fifth Crusade (1213–1221), which was led by the Hungarian King Andrew II (1205–1235). The Hungarians were presented as positive role models for rulers and ordinary people and thus played a role in the everyday religious culture of many peoples in Europe. The use of this image has continued on in the Catholic culture of Europe from the Middle Ages until our time.

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[14] F. Banfi, "'Imago Hungariae….' nella cartografia italiana del Rinascimento…," *Biblioteca dell'Accademia d'Ungheria in Roma*, new ser., 11 (Rome 1947), 409; T. Klaniczay, "Die Benennungen 'Hungaria' und 'Pannonia' als Mittel der Identitätssuche der Ungarn," in *Antike Rezeption und nationale Identität in der Renaissance: Insbesondere in Deutschland und in Ungarn*, ed. by T. Klaniczay et al. (Budapest 1993), 83–110.

[15] See also M. Wintle, *The Image of Europe* (Cambridge 2009).

[16] Ibid., 1–15; J. Szűcs, "Theoretical Elements in Master Simon of Kéza's *Gesta Hungarorum* (1282–1285)," in S. de Kéza, *Gesta Hungarorum*, trans. and ed. by L. Veszprémy and F. Schaer (Budapest 1999), xxix–cii.

[17] G. Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses: Dynastic Cults in Medieval Central Europe*, trans. by É. Pálmai (Cambridge 2002).

King Matthias Corvinus and the Hungarian Renaissance

Beyond this, the history of the Hungarian people, their kingdom and its rulers gave much to ponder about in Europe. Political turmoil, religious developments and the characteristics of this often exotic country and its rich culture all served as building blocks of an image which could travel as far as Spain, Ireland or even Sweden. The person and the reign of the Renaissance King Matthias Corvinus (1458–1490) became legendary during the high days of the medieval Kingdom of Hungary due to the humanist culture at his court, his famous library and his patronage of art.[18] According to Peter Burke, Hungary was considered the centre of Europe in the late fifteenth century, in the sense of receiving the Renaissance earlier than elsewhere.[19]

Propugnaculum christianitatis

One of the most influential topoi related to Hungary and the Hungarians is the depiction of the kingdom and its inhabitants as the "bulwark of Christianity," described with the term *propugnaculum christianitatis*. This topos was originally invented by humanists to describe the geographical position of Byzantium in Europe, but later it was extensively employed to describe the countries and the people on the frontiers of the Ottoman Empire at the eastern borders of Christian Europe.[20] This term was increasingly used in political discourse in Hungary and abroad after the advance of the Ottomans in South-Eastern Europe in the fifteenth century.[21] The concept, popular also in other borderlands of the Ottoman Empire, received a new meaning after the disastrous Battle of Mohács in 1526, when King Louis II died, and after the fall of the capital, Buda, in 1541. The country was split in three: it was divided between a leftover section of the former kingdom, ruled by the Habsburgs in the west and north, a part occupied by the Ot-

[18] J. Thurocz, *Chronicle of the Hungarians*, ed. and trans. by F. Mantello (Bloomington 1991); G. Martius, *De egregie, sapienter, iocose dictis ac factis regis Mathiae ad ducem Iohannem eius filium liber*, ed. by L. Juhász (Leipzig 1934). On King Matthias, cf. A. Kubinyi, *Matthias Rex* (Budapest 2008).

[19] P. Burke, *The European Renaissance: Centres and Peripheries* (Oxford 1998), 12, 58–60.

[20] L. Hopp, "Les principes de l'antimurale et la conformitas dans la tradition hungaro-polonaise avant Báthory," *Acta Litteraria Academiae Scientiarium Hungarica* 31 (1989), 125–140.

[21] F. Szakály, "Phases of Turco-Hungarian Warfare before the Battle of Mohács," *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 33 (1979), 65–111.

tomans in the south and the semi-autonomous Principality of Transylvania in the east. It was this western part of Hungary which was considered the bulwark of Christianity until 1699.

Fertilitas Pannoniae

The old kingdom did persist in the European imagination as a vivid memory, not in the least because of the literary efforts of Hungarian humanists in exile, like Nicolaus Olahus in Brussels and Johannes Sambucus in Vienna.[22] We can read on the backsides of maps, in travel diaries and in other early modern descriptions the medieval stereotyping of Hungary as *fertilitas Pannoniae*. The kingdom was depicted as a country with natural wonders like a fertile soil, wondrous waters, a perfect climate and good food and wine.[23]

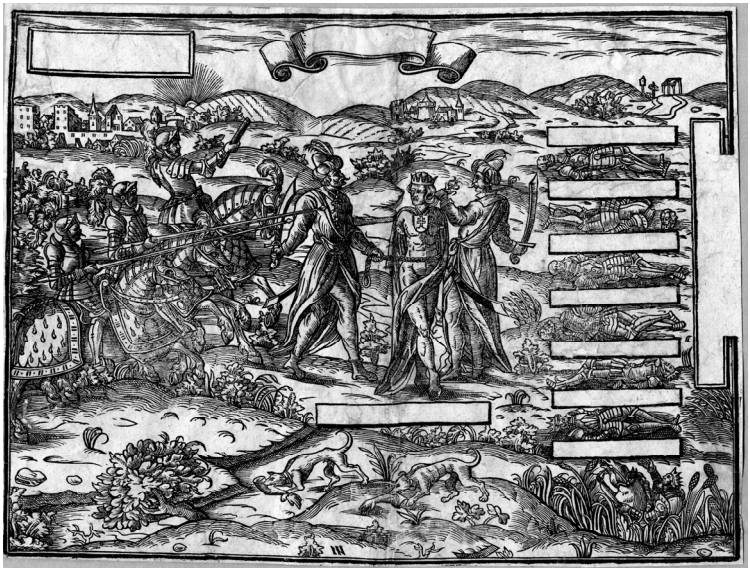

Fig. 1. J. Nel, Das Ungerland an alle ehrliebende Teutschen wider den blutdürstigen Türcken (1580)

[22] N. Olah, *Hungaria – Athila*, ed. by K. Eperjessy and L. Juhász (Budapest 1938). On Sambucus, see G. Almási, *The Uses of Humanism: Johannes Sambucus (1531–1584), Andreas Dudith (1533–1589), and the Republic of Letters in East Central Europe* (Leiden 2009)

[23] E.g. G. Werner, *De admirandis Hungariae acquis hypomnematon* (Basel 1549).

Querela Hungariae

The western part of the divided Kingdom of Hungary remaining under Habsburg rule took over the symbolic role of the bastion of Christianity from the middle of the sixteenth century. The creation of the topos of *querela Hungariae* ("complaint of Hungary") around 1537 was a direct result of the division of Hungary.[24] The topos expressed, as a symbolic cry for help against the Ottoman menace, a personification of Hungary to rest of Christian Europe, especially Germany. As such, it combined the topoi of Hungary as the bulwark of Christianity and the representation of Hungary as a devastated country (*ruina Pannoniae*), which was the counter-image of fertile Hungary.[25] It functioned as an important topos in the so-called *Türkenliteratur*.[26] The image of divided Hungary received an important place in Catholic and Habsburg propaganda all over Europe in order to legitimate the financial support for the war against the Ottomans. Divided Hungary was used in Europe as an example to warn other states of a similar fate. One of the most impressive depictions of divided Hungary, made by Johann Nel in the work of Martinus Schrott, is her personification as a female who is cut into parts by figures representing Austria and the Ottoman Empire (fig. 1).[27] The country was not only split politically but was also heterogeneous from a religious, social, ethnic and regional point of view. It was especially its religious division between Catholics and Protestants which was used to warn the inhabitants of other countries of the perils of religious strife.

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[24] The classic study on this topic is M. Imre, *"Magyarország panasza." A Querela Hungariae toposz a XVI-XVII. század irodalomban* ["Complaint of Hungary." The Querela Hungariae topos in the literature of the sixteenth and seventeenth century] (Debrecen 1995).

[25] Ibid., 9.

[26] Cf. J. J. Varga, "Europa und 'Die Vormauer des Christentums.' Die Entwicklungsgeschichte eines geflügelten Wortes," in *Europa und die Türken in der Renaissance*, ed. by B. Guthmüller and W. Kühlmann (Tübingen 2000), 55–64; J. Jankovics, "The Image of the Turks in Hungarian Renaissance Literature," in ibid., 267–273, and the further studies in this volume.

[27] J. Nel, "Das Ungerland an alle ehrliebende Teutschen wider den blutdürstigen Türcken," in M. Schrott, *Wappenbuch des Heiligen Römischen Reichs, vnd allgemainer Christenheit in Europa, insonderheit des Teutschen Keyserthumbs...* (Munich 1580), 17bis v.–17ter r.

Hungarian heroes

Of all the thousands of Hungarians who fought against the Ottomans and lost their lives in various battles, only a few became famous elsewhere in Europe. They were used as moral examples to be followed, symbolising bravery, but also played a role in the propaganda against the Ottoman menace.[28] The already mentioned King Louis II fits into this context. Other famous heroes were Miklós Zrínyi, Miklós Pálffy and George Baxa. The images of these heroes were used to illustrate the aforementioned topoi, like the bastion of Christianity or the complaint of Hungary. The already described woodcut of Nel contains a list of these fallen Hungarian heroes and their images. (fig. 1)

Hungarian rebels

The territory of divided Hungary was the stage of several anti-Habsburg uprisings and armed insurrections between 1604 and 1711, with 1848 as the last one. The leaders of these rebellions and military campaigns became famous symbolic figures in the early modern propaganda and news exchange. They served either as role models for the enemies of the Habsburgs, or as negative stereotypes in the Catholic and Habsburg propaganda. In the seventeenth century, the most celebrated anti-Habsburg heroes were Stephen Bocskai, Gabriel Bethlen and Emmerich Thököly.

The papers of the volume

The collection of essays in the present volume seeks to explore a limited and yet representative range of topics regarding the image of Hungary in different regions. An important point of our studies is to record the intra-regional circulation of ideas and discourses.

Nóra G. Etényi and Orsolya Lénárt both explore the Holy Roman Empire as an important bridge between divided Hungary and Western Europe through which information travelled west. The study of Etényi is about the detailed image of Hungary and its function in the public sphere of the political, economic and cultural centres of the Holy Roman Empire in the early modern period. She shows that the electoral courts and imperial diets were the places of representation for the Hungarian political elite and at

[28] G. Galavics, *"Kössünk kardot az pogány ellen." Török háborúk és képzőművészet* ["Let us gird our swords against the heathen." Turkish wars and art] (Budapest 1986), 11–24.

the same time the legal forms of diplomatic ways to spread and collect information on politics in relation to Hungary. Lénárt describes the spread and development of the *fertilitas Pannoniae* topos in German literature after the second Siege of Vienna in 1683. She focuses on the work of the author Eberhard Werner Happel, who devoted six volumes of *Der Ungarische Kriegs-Roman* (1685–1697) to events in Hungary between 1664 and 1687, and in the preface to each volume expressed his hope that the war would end with the glorious victory of Christian troops as soon as possible. Happel's work represents Hungary through the filter of German-language leaflets, newspapers and travelogues, thus the novel presents us with insights into the development—sometimes radical changes—of the early modern image of the Hungarians. The most radical change was the negative influence upon the image of Hungarians as a consequence of Emmerich Thököly's anti-Habsburg policies. The policy of the Transylvanian prince in relation to the Ottomans slowly overrode the old topos of *propugnaculum.*

The study of Szymon Brzeziński gives a critical overview of past research on the image of Hungary, Transylvania and their inhabitants in the neighbouring Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, supplemented with new sources and viewpoints. Brzeziński also discusses important topoi in this discourse, like the *propugnaculum*, the Polish-Hungarian tradition of *conformitas* and the notion of divided Hungary as an example to be avoided. Moreover, he draws attention to the function of the myth of King Stephen Báthory in the Polish-Lithuanian culture and gives an insight into stereotype-building mechanisms.

Tamás Kruppa analyses the image of Hungary and Hungarians in Italian public opinion during and after the Long Turkish War (1591/1593–1606). Certain topoi on Hungary played a similar role in Italy around 1593 as in Germany and Poland-Lithuania, portraying Hungarians as the defenders of Christianity against the Ottomans. Kruppa shows, however, that an important and influential shift occurred in Italian public opinion during the Bocskai Revolt (1604–1606). According to the opinion of the Italians, the Hungarians and Transylvanians betrayed the cause of Christianity because of their alliance with the Ottomans. This was when a negative stereotype of the Hungarians as uneducated and uncultured rebels and betrayers was born, which would determine the Hungarian image for centuries to come. Kruppa states that this image did not only change in Italy but in the rest of Europe as well, due to the Habsburg propaganda. Moreover, Kruppa claims that this negative stereotype was not only confined to the Catholic world but also spread beyond it.

The old Kingdom of Croatia, as a political entity with its own diet, still remained a part of the section of divided Hungary under Habsburg rule after 1541. The division of the medieval kingdom of Hungary-Croatia stimulated a process of self-identification and the increased self-awareness among the Croatian political and intellectual elite. The study of Iva Kurelac is devoted to the perception of the medieval Kingdom of Hungary in Croatian historiography (1500–1660). She studies the image which was formed in the historical works of some of the most important Croatian clergy and noblemen and the role this image played in constructing the political identity of the Croatian lands. According to her, the main goal of this image was to create a sense of unity among the Croatian elite and to defend their position against Venetian, Ottoman, Habsburg and Hungarian influence.

Klára Jakó studies the image of Hungary and the Hungarians in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Moldavian and Wallachian chronicles. The formation of this image in this region was completely different from the developments described above because of a cultural cleavage between Western and Eastern Europe. Although the Principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia bordered Transylvania and there were some contacts between the various courts and people, still there was a remarkable lack of narrative sources compared to Transylvania or elsewhere due to the fact that there were no court archives in Moldavia or Wallachia until the eighteenth century.

Finally, Kees Teszelszky and Orsolya Réthelyi study the changing image of Hungary and the Hungarians in the Low Countries. Although the Dutch Republic was far away from Hungary and Transylvania, a remarkable amount of information reached the Low Countries. Teszelszky shows that this information came through various channels to the Netherlands, not only through Germany, but even via the Ottoman Empire. Information on Hungary and Transylvania was collected by Dutch information brokers and spread to the rest of Europe. The image of the Hungarians which was constructed by these information brokers served in the first place Dutch or southern Dutch interests. Réthelyi shows that the image of Hungary was used quite often in Dutch theatrical dramas after the reconquest of Buda in 1683. Hungary was associated with questions of state and government, religion, succession and sovereignty in the public opinion of both the Republic and the southern Netherlands. The historical situations surrounding Hungary provided settings to explore ideas in the dramatic genre.

The collective impression of these geographically wide-ranging chapters demonstrates that while the concepts of Hungary and Transylvania were clearly rooted in a common European circulation of ideas, the local

political, religious and social conditions significantly modified the interplay of different components and topoi. The final results will likely remind one more of a kaleidoscope than a clear mirror.

THE GENESIS AND METAMORPHOSIS OF IMAGES OF HUNGARY IN THE HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE

NÓRA G. ETÉNYI

Introduction: A multifaceted image in print

In the early modern era, a multifaceted image of Hungary based on substantive knowledge arose in the economic, political and cultural centres of the Holy Roman Empire. Reflecting the range of contacts, the Empire's news centres had a good supply of information about Hungary, albeit the intensity of the news flow varied. From the mid-fifteenth century onwards, the rapid expansion of the Ottoman Empire led to greater public awareness of Hungary's military struggle against the Ottomans. Meanwhile, the humanist elite in Hungary disseminated a substantial amount of material on the economic and political significance of the Kingdom of Hungary.[1]

[1] The image of a fertile and productive country—as presented in a variety of genres—was formulated in a particularly effective fashion by Nicolaus Oláh in a work entitled *Hungaria* dating from 1536. Oláh described the natural features of Hungary, its land, its good wine, its role as a supplier of meat, and its mineral wealth, while emphasising the need for Europe to defend all these values. A work in Latin by Georg Wernher, titled *De admirandis Hungariae aquis hypomnemation*, described the mineral and medicinal waters and baths of Hungary. It was first published in Basel in 1549 and was republished in both Latin and German on multiple occasions. M. Imre, *"Magyarország panasza" – A Querela Hungariae toposz a XVI–XVII. század irodalmában* ["Complaint of Hungary." The Querela Hungariae topos in the literature of the sixteenth and seventeenth century] (Debrecen 1995); id., *Retorikák a reformáció korából* [Rhetoric from the Reformation era] (Debrecen 2000), 455−465; L. Szörényi, *Philologica Hungarolatina. Tanulmányok a magyarországi neolatin irodalomról* [Philologica Hungarolatina. Studies on neo-Latin literature in Hungary] (Budapest 2002).

From the beginning of the sixteenth century, the early modern German pamphlets examined the conditions in the Kingdom of Hungary.[2]

In times of crisis, traditional knowledge of Hungary (including the attributes of its major cities) was supplemented by new practical information, which then reappeared as inherited knowledge at the time of subsequent crises. Accordingly, the image of Hungary was not a static one. While it may have been legitimised by tradition, it was modernised as new interests arose, thereby becoming more professional and credible. By the end of the seventeenth century, the image was dominated by arguments derived from the theory of the state *(Staatstheorie)*.[3]

The image of Hungary was greatly influenced by the German universities, which published printed tracts and pamphlets with arguments in favour of the war against the Ottomans, and which were attended by many peregrinating Hungarian students. The German universities were also the scene of debates on the positive and negative aspects of the national image. The anti-Ottoman publicists cited political and economic arguments for their stance, also repeating the traditional theme of the Ottomans as the archenemy. The publicists usually had links with universities representing the interests of the German principalities, in particular Wittenberg, Heidelberg, Helmstedt and Tübingen.[4] In the descriptions of Hungarian towns,

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[2] S. Apponyi, *Hungarica. Magyar vonatkozású külföldi nyomtatványok. Ungarn betreffende im Auslande gedruckte Bücher und Flugschriften*, vols. 1–2 (Budapest 1900−1902), id., *Hungarica: Ungarn betreffende im Auslande gedruckte Bücher und Flugschriften*, vols. 1–4, (Munich 1925−1927); I. Hubay, *Magyar és magyar vonatkozású röplapok, újságlapok, röpiratok az Országos Széchényi Könyvtárban 1480−1718* [Ungarn und Ungarn betreffende Flugblätter, Flugschriften und Zeitungen in der Nationalbibliothek Budapest, 1480−1718] (Budapest 1948); K. S. Német, *Ungarische Drucke und Hungarica 1480−1720. Katalog der Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel*, vols. 1−3 (Munich 1993).

[3] In 1665−1666, having been commissioned by the Royal Society, Edward Brown travelled in Hungary and other parts of South-Eastern Europe. His book, *A brief Account of some Travels in Hungaria…*, was published in London in 1673. Versions of the book in German and French were popular in the 1670s and 1680s. Brown systematically described economic conditions and mining methods in the region. An adventure novel published by Daniel Speer in 1683 and 1684 was set in Hungary and presented political and economic conditions in the Protestant towns of Upper Hungary. See: *Ungarnbild in der Deutschen Literatur der frühen Neuzeit. Der Ungarische oder Dacianische Simplicissimus im Kontext barocker Reiseerzählungen und Simpliziaden*, ed. by D. Breuer and G. Tüskés (Bern 2005), 224 (Brown), and 10−11 (Speer).

[4] M. Hollenbeck, "Die Türkenpublizistik im 17. Jahrhundert – Spiegel der Verhältniss im Reich?," *MIÖG* 107 (1999), 111−130.

emphasis was given to the high standard of grammar schools there. By the seventeenth century, however, the principal theme had changed: Hungary was no longer portrayed exclusively as a military arena, and members of the Hungarian political elite were perceived not only as military heroes but also as cultivated politicians whose families enjoyed substantial influence at the imperial court.[5]

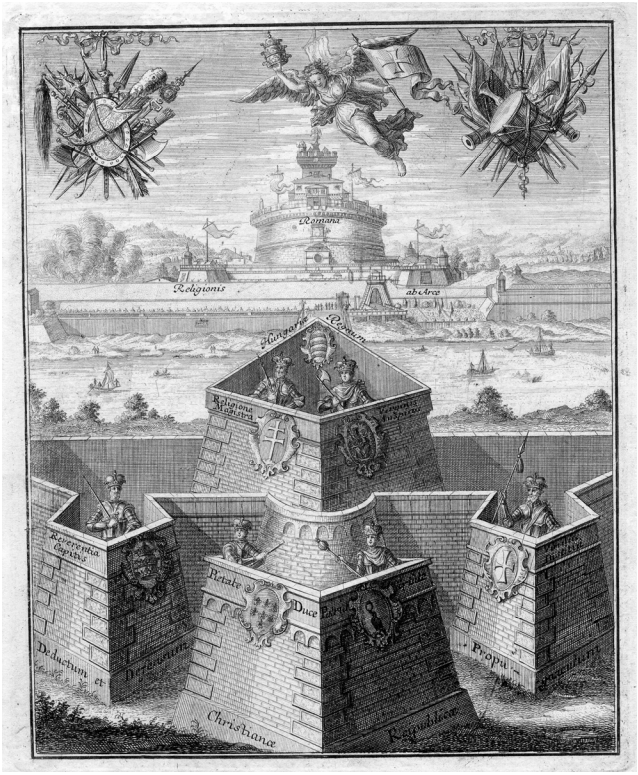

Fig. 2. Hungary as the bulwark of Christianity

[5] I. Bitskey, "Militia et littera. Volkscharakterologische Ungarn-Topoi," in *Ungarnbild in der Deutschen Literatur der frühen Neuzeit*, 111−124; G. Kármán, "Identitás és határok. 17. századi magyar utazók nyugaton és keleten", *Korall* 26 (2006), 78 (cf. the English version: "Identity and Borders: Seventeenth-Century Hungarian Travellers in the West and East," *European Review of History. Revue européenne d'histoire* 17, 4 (2010), 555–579).

The image of the Kingdom of Hungary was largely shaped by power relations within the Holy Roman Empire and by the various economic and political interests and religious factors. In their propaganda—which focussed on a "holy war" to be fought against the "archenemy"—the imperial court and the Papal state underscored the importance of defending the common interests of Christendom and of securing funding for the military struggle against Ottoman forces (fig. 2).[6] An important task for the princes, electors and imperial cities assisting in this struggle was to inform their subjects of the significance and outcomes of the battles. With the advance of the *hostis naturalis* (natural enemy, the Ottomans), there arose a need to inform not only the elite but also broad sections of society.[7] In this way, the Ottoman presence in Europe influenced the development of a public sphere in the early modern era. In order to provide the public with accurate news, the authorities needed to establish an efficient and large-scale information and communication network. With the emergence of the postal networks, Europe became more transparent and permeable. This, in turn, altered perceptions of time and space in the course of the period.[8]

In addition to such traditional means as sermons, folksongs and short poetic accounts, there was the publication of broadsheets and pamphlets—including the journalistic "Newe Zeitungen"—reflecting the rapid development of book and newspaper printing. Reports on the Battle of Mohács (29 August 1526) were printed in the presses of southern Germany just two weeks after the battle. Using simple language, such publications informed the public of the consequences of Hungarian fortresses falling into Ottoman hands. A newsletter published in Augsburg and reporting on the

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[6] W. Schulze, *Reich und Türkengefähr im späten 16. Jahrhundert. Studien zu den politischen und gesellschaftlichen Auswirkungen einer äusseren Bedrohung* (Munich 1978); M. Grothaus, *"Der Erbfeind christlichen Namens". Studien zum Türkenfeindbild in der Kultur der Habsburger Monarchei zwischen 16. und 17. Jahrhundert* (Graz 1986).

[7] C. Göllner, *Turcica. Die Türkenfrage in der öffentlichen Meinung Europas im 16. Jahrhundert* (Bucharest and Baden 1978); K. Benda, *A törökkor német újságirodalma. A XV–XVII. századi német hírlapok magyar vonatkozásainak forráskritikájához* [The Turkish era in German newspaper literature. Towards a source critique of the Hungarian aspects of German newspapers from the 15th–17th century] (Budapest 1942); R. Schwobel, *The Shadow of the Crescent: The Renaissance Image of the Turk (1453–1517)* (Nieuwkoop 1976); *Europa und die Türken in der Renaissance*, ed. by B. Guthmüller and W. Kühlmann (Tübingen 2000); A. Höfert, *Den Feind beschrieben. "Türkengefahr" und europäisches Wissen über das Osmanische Reich 1450–1600* (Frankfurt 2003).

[8] W. Behringer, *Im Zeihen des Merkur. Reichspost und Kommunikationsrevolution in der Frühen Neuzeit* (Göttingen 2003), 379–380.

fall of Szigetvár in September 1566 praised the heroic acts of the ban of Croatia, Miklós Zrínyi (1508–1566), during the defence of Szigetvár. It also reported that in view of the dangers of cattle trading in Hungary, the price of meat was expected to rise in the markets of Ulm, Nuremberg and Augsburg. At the time of the imperial diet at Regensburg in 1595, a "Türkenlied" stated plainly that unless assistance was given, Ottoman forces would soon be seen on the streets of Regensburg. In 1594, the threat of an Ottoman occupation of Győr was emphasised—in a rather exaggerated fashion—both to the decision-making elite and to the ordinary public.[9] During the reign of Emperor Rudolf II, many military reports were printed in Prague and Nuremberg and then distributed throughout the Holy Roman Empire.[10] With the arrival in Hungary of the imperial auxiliary troops, a direct flow of information became both a possibility and a necessity.

During the Ottoman campaigns against Hungary, church bells were rung at midday throughout the Holy Roman Empire and particularly in Augsburg, Nuremberg, Ulm and Regensburg. The municipal authorities arranged for the printing of cheap anti-Ottoman prayer publications suitable for children. Meanwhile, in the name of Christian solidarity, decrees were issued prohibiting dances.

In addition to the major printing centres in southern Germany, an important role in the publication of material on Hungary was played by printing and news centres in northern Germany, such as Frankfurt am Main, Cologne, Hamburg and Leipzig. Over long periods certain publishing dynasties (Merian, Endter, Felsecker, Hoffmann, Aubry, Fürst, Loschge and Wiering) were instrumental in shaping and disseminating various printed genres with material on the Kingdom of Hungary.

Among the inhabitants of the imperial towns and cities, there was significant demand for printed newspapers and reports.[11] By the beginning of the seventeenth century, a kind of hierarchy had developed among the var-

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[9] Z. Bagi, "'Egy ura lesz az egész világnak Napkelettől Napnyugatig.' A töröksegély kérdése és az 1597−98. évi regensburgi birodalmi gyűlés" ["The world will have one ruler from East to West." The issue of Turkish aid and the imperial diet at Regensburg in 1597−98], *Századok* 141 (2007), 1455−1481.

[10] K. Vocelka, *Die politische Propaganda Kaiser Rudolfs II. (1576−1612)* (Vienna 1981).

[11] *Die Entstehung des Zeitungswesens im 17. Jahrhundert. Ein neues Medium und seine Folgen für das Kommunikationssystem der Frühen Neuzeit*, ed. by V. Bauer and H. Böning (Bremen 2011); *Das Mediensystem im Alten Reich der Frühen Neuzeit (1600−1750)*, ed. by J. Arndt and E.-B. Körber (Göttingen 2010); H. Böning, "Weltaneignung durch ein neues Publikum. Zeitungen und Zeitschriften als Medientypen der Moderne," in *Kommunikation und Medien in der Frühen Neuzeit*, ed. by J. Burkhardt and C. Werkstetter (Munich 2005).

ious printed genres based on the quality of news reports, their value, and the sophistication of their readers. In this process, a degree of cooperation arose between the various types of newspapers. The regular weekly papers carried foreign policy news reports, including accounts of political and military developments in Hungary, set within a European context. At times of important military and political reversals, the publishers issued special editions of four or five pages, containing reports by military leaders, missionary accounts and letters written by important personalities and eyewitnesses. Engraved pamphlets displayed in public squares were an effective means of drawing attention to a major defeat or victory. Such pamphlets also provided background information on major developments in the era. The information provided was rapidly absorbed by the literate and cultivated audience.[12] Rather than distinguish between text and image, the aim was to use them for mutual reinforcement—with illustrations also providing important information. The pamphlets were used to inform people of current events, to gauge their reactions, and to shape public opinion.[13]

Through their visual effects, illustrated pamphlets—which were purchasable even by poorer members of urban society—contributed greatly to the shaping of Hungary's image. The genre had social prestige: pamphlets were sometimes even used to decorate the interiors of burghers' houses.[14] The Nuremberg chronicle, with its descriptions of the events of the Long Turkish War (1591–1606), was enhanced with illustrated material originally published in pamphlets. In picture and text, the pamphlets provided detailed information about the strategic situation and the natural attributes of the various fortresses. In this way there arose "canonised" descriptions of strategic fortresses, castles and towns—Buda, Győr, Komárom, Esztergom and Érsekújvár (Nové Zámky). We also know of 190 different repre-

[12] M. Schilling, *Bildpublizistik der frühen Neuzeit. Aufgaben und Leistungen des illustrierten Flugblatts in Deutschland bis um 1700* (Tübingen 1990); *Das illustrierte Flugblatt der frühen Neuzeit. Tradition – Wirkungen – Kontexte*, ed. by W. Harms and M. Schilling (Stuttgart 2008).

[13] J. Schumann, "Das politisch-militärische Flugblatt in der zweiten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts als Nachrichtenmedium und Propagandamittel," in *Das illustrierte Flugblatt*, 226−258.

[14] M. Schilling, "Stadt und Publizistik in der Frühen Neuzeit," in *Stadt und Literatur im deutschen Sprachraum der Frühen Neuzeit*, ed. by K. Garber et al. (Tübingen 1998), 112−141; P. Ukena, "Tagesschriftum und Öffentlichkeit im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert in Deutschland," in *Presse und Geschichte. Beiträge zur Historischen Kommunikationsforschung*, ed. by E. Blühm (Munich 1977), 35−53.

sentations of Kanizsa, produced in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[15]

Summaries of information published in the press were drawn up; they became points of reference at the time of the next crisis.

Opportunities arising in the public political sphere in Regensburg in 1663–1664

The Holy Roman Empire's news centres were in a special position in contemporary Europe, for their audiences could be reached simultaneously by competing power centres. Such competition served to enhance the significance and standard of the public information presented. For the Hungarian political elite, the courts of the elector princes and the imperial diets were legitimate diplomatic arenas for the reconciliation of interests and the gathering of information. The ceremonies accompanying the imperial diets also served as opportunities for members of the Hungarian political elite to present themselves. In the early modern era, the Kingdom of Hungary did not have its own foreign policy. Even so, both within the empire and internationally, Hungary—the location of the struggle against the Ottomans—was perceived in the public mind as a highly significant region. Accordingly, information on military and political developments in the country was assigned great importance.

The medieval metropolis of Regensburg was an ideal location for the flow of information; from 1596 it often served as the venue for imperial diets. A new period in the city's history began in 1663 and lasted until the dissolution of the Holy Roman Empire in 1806.[16] In this period of the "permanent imperial diet," Regensburg was a major centre of diplomacy and communication for both the empire and Europe as a whole.[17] In the

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[15] B. Szalai, *Magyar városok, falvak metszeteken 1515−1800*, vols. 1−3 [Hungarian towns and villages in engravings, 1515−1800] (Budapest 2006).

[16] W. Fürnrohr, *Der immerwährende Reichstag zu Regensburg. Das Parlament des Alten Reiches. Zur 300-Jahr-Feier Eröffnung 1663* (Regensburg 1987); A. Schindling, *Die Anfänge des Immerwährenden Reichstags zu Regensburg* (Mainz 1991).

[17] R. Reiser, *Adeliges Stadtleben im Barockzeitalter. Internationales Gesandtenleben auf dem Immerwährenden Reichstag zu Regensburg. Ein Beitrag zur Kultur- und Gesellschaftsgeschichte der Barockzeit. Neue Schriftenreihe des Stadtarchivs München* (Munich 1969); J. Burkhardt, "Verfassungsprofil und Leistungsbilanz des Immerwährenden Reichstags. Zur Evaluierung einer frühmodernen Institution," in *Reichsständische Libertat und Habsburgisches Kaisertum*, ed. by H. Duchhardt and M. Schnettger (Mainz 1999), 155−157; S. Friedrich, *Drehscheibe Re-*

mid-seventeenth century, Regensburg had a population of twenty thousand. The presence in the city of 70 embassies represented an enormous change; it led to the emergence of a multilingual and multicultural milieu, accompanied by pomp, economic vibrancy and a large amount of transitory traffic.[18] While the frequency of meetings of the permanent imperial diet varied over time, both in its inception and during the wars against the Ottomans important negotiations were held on the amounts of aid to be offered.[19] Such meetings served as a major opportunity to coordinate the policies of the elector princes. For several European powers, the "permanent" imperial diet in Regensburg established a legal and functional forum for common diplomatic efforts, whereby public policy-makers would seek to become influential actors in the decision-making process, thereby abandoning their "observer" status.

After the long period of peace beginning in 1606, a possible offensive against the Ottomans raised high hopes in the Kingdom of Hungary in the 1650s. The Treaty of Westphalia (1648) had established the European basis for an international coalition against the Ottomans, in which the Holy Roman Empire would play a leading part. Moreover Venice's struggle for Candia in 1645–1669 opened up the maritime arena. The Habsburg Empire, which was still recovering from the Thirty Years' War and worried about French ambitions, wished to avoid a possible war against the Ottoman Empire. Yet, in consequence of decades of systematic work, the political elite of the Kingdom of Hungary had established foreign relations with the elector princes of the Holy Roman Empire, in particular with the imperial chancellor and archbishop of Mainz, Johann Philipp von Schönborn, who regarded a war against the Ottomans as timely and contrary to Habsburg interests.[20] The war, however, began with an Ottoman

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gensburg. Das Informations- und Kommunikationssystem des Immerwährenden Reichsstags um 1700 (Berlin 2007).

[18] M. Kubitza, "Regensburg als Sitz des Immerwährenden Reichstags," in *Geschichte der Stadt Regensburg*, ed. by P. Schmid (Regensburg 2000), 156; A. Schmidt, "Von der Landstadt zum Ort des Immerwährenden Reichtags," in *Regensburg – Stadt der Reichstage. Vom Mittelalter zur Neuzeit*, ed. by D. Albrecht (Regensburg 1994), 29−43, 30, 32.

[19] Schindling, *Die Anfänge*, 111; T. Nicklas, "Der Dichter als Störenfried: Angelus Silesius und die Debatte um seine "Türcken-Schrifft" von 1663," in *Studien zur politischen Kultur Alteuropas. Festschrift für Helmut Neuhaus zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. by A. Gotthard et al. (Berlin 2009), 269−271.

[20] Á. R. Várkonyi, "Zrínyi, 'The Hero upon whom Providence hath devolved the Fate of Europe'," in *Europica varietas – Hungarica varietas 1526−1762* (Budapest 2000), 103−148; eadem, "The Mediators: Zrínyi and Johann Philipp von

offensive and the occupation of Várad by Ottoman forces in 1660, whereby the aim of the Porte was to prevent the Principality of Transylvania from switching allegiances. The troops of the Grand Vizier, Ahmed Köprülü, succeeded in taking Érsekújvár, the centre of the captain-generalcy of northern Hungary, together with seven lesser fortresses.

Fig. 3. The new Zrínyi castle

Schönborn," in *Militia et Litterae. Die beiden Nikolaus Zrínyi und Europa*, ed. by W. Kühlmann et al. (Tübingen 2009), 72−81.

From the autumn of 1663, the imperial diet that had opened on 6 January was inundated by pamphlets recounting the events of the war against the Ottomans in Hungary. The pamphlets were printed versions of the reports sent to the Aulic War Council. The imperial court wished to assist those fighting against the Ottomans as soon as possible, and so the publication of information about the Ottoman offensive was clearly in its interest. However, the war propaganda exceeded the desired frame: the tracts on the Ottoman question had announced an offensive war against the Ottomans, whereas in reality Leopold I had to request assistance from the imperial estates for a defensive war against the Ottomans. In the winter of 1664, in the hope of a vote on the imperial auxiliary forces and the election of a supreme commander for a united force, the campaign of anti-Ottoman propaganda was stepped up. The Hungarian dignitaries increased their military and political role in the military and political arenas. From 1661, the efforts against the Ottomans of the Croatian ban, Miklós Zrínyi (1620–1664), were reported upon not only in the German printed weeklies, but also in the controversial pamphlets. Authentic military ground plans and vedutas showed the ancient base of the Zrínyi family, the court at Csáktornya. One could also see plans for the new Zrínyi castle, which before the outbreak of war had been situated close to the border (fig. 3).[21] They show in map form Zrínyi's victories along the Mura River in 1663 and the results of the military campaign in January 1664 (which lasted until 9 February)—that is, the occupation of Segesd and Babocsa and the torching of the city of Pécs and the bridge at Eszék (Osijek) on the Ottoman line of advance. During this period, around 70 pamphlets illustrated with engravings and recounting the actions of the poet and military leader Zrínyi were published with portraits of him on horseback.[22] Reports on developments in Hungary were also decisive in the diplomatic arena; the events were covered extensively in the printed press. At the time of the opening of the imperial diet and during the war of 1663–1664, it seems the public image became a part of the diplomatic offensive. Indeed, between December 1663 and May 1664, at the imperial diet in Regensburg—

[21] H. Petrić, "The Stronghold of New Serinwar/Novi Zrin/Zrínyi-Újvár (1661−1664) – A Part of Croatian and Hungarian History," in *Militia et Litterae*, 106−134.

[22] G. Cennerné Wilhelm, *A Zrínyi-család ikonográfiája* [The iconography of the Zrínyi family] (Budapest 1997); G. Tüskés, "Zur Ikonographie der beiden Nicolaus Zrínyi," in *Militia et Litterae*, 319−387; J. R. Paas, *The German Political Broadsheet, 1600−1700*, vol. 9: *1662−1670* (Wiesbaden 2007), 56−62, 82−84, 102−108, 117−122, 126−140, 147−158, 161−162, 170−171, 173−175, 192, 254−255, 276.

attended in person by Emperor Leopold I and the elector princes—there was considerable rivalry between the rulers, particularly as they made their solemn entrances.[23] Such rivalry was also reflected in subsequent accounts of these occasions.

On 19 February 1664, John George III, elector of Saxony, arrived at the imperial diet, already in session, with eleven carriages. Reporting on the procession, the Nuremberg broadsheet showed, in the proximity of the elector's carriage, the younger brother of Miklós Zrínyi, Péter Zrínyi (1621–1671), who would later become the ban of Croatia, as well as his brother-in-law, Ferenc Frangepán (1643–1671).[24] The accuracy of the report is confirmed by the diary account of Ferdinand Stoiber, the envoy of the Bavarian elector, which contains a description of the celebrations of the imperial diet, including the elector of Saxony's splendid entrance in blue, yellow and black colours.[25] According to this description, in the eighteenth and twentieth place, a six-horse carriage bore Count Zrínyi, accompanied by the elector's main military leader. The diary account also tells of a grand reception, attended by Zrínyi and Frangepán on 25 March, at which the electors of Bavaria and Saxony were also present.[26] The decision of the elector prince to invite Hungarian aristocrats to such an important diplomatic event counts as an unusual political gesture. The occasion, however, was an extraordinary one, for Zrínyi and Frangepán had come to Regensburg directly from the winter campaign and the torching of the bridge at Eszék on 2 February 1664 with the aim of reporting on their successes against the Ottomans to Emperor Leopold, as king of Hungary,

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[23] Ch. Joist and M. Kamp, "Der Einzug von Kaiser Leopold I. 1663, und der Einzug des bayerischen Kurfürsten Ferdinand Maria mit Gemahlin Henriette Adelhaid von Savoyen 1664," in *Feste in Regensburg von der Reformation bis in die Gegenwart*, ed. by K. Mösender (Regensburg 1986), 236−239, 241−245; D. Linnemann, "Repraesentatio Majestatis? Zeichenstrategische Personkonzepte von Gesandten im Zeremonialbild des späten 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts," in *Räume des Selbst. Selbstzeugnisforschung transkulturell*, ed. by A. Bähr et al. (Cologne 2007), 69−73.

[24] *Dess Durchleuchtigsten Fürsten und Herrn Herrn Johann Georg dess Andern Herzogen zu Sachsen… Einzugs in Regensburg… 19. Februarij 1664 Verlegt durch Johann Hoffman Kunsthandler in Nürnberg*, in Paas, *The German Political Broadsheet*, 9:160, P−2701.

[25] *Diarium Aller Curialien nach ihrer Churfürstl. und Meiner Gdisten Herrn und meiner gndsten Frauen ankunfft nach Regenspurg (9. Jan 1664 – 26. Mart. 1664.)*, Bayerisches Haupstaatsarchiv [hereafter: BHStA], Geheimes Staatsarchiv München Kasten Schwarz 4455, f. 83–85.

[26] Ibid., f. 123−125.

who was also attending the imperial diet in person.[27] As the aforementioned colourful entrance to the diet indicates, those elector princes who understood the significance of the war against the Ottomans were keen to offer their assistance, not only in the course of the diplomatic negotiations but also by representational and propaganda means aimed at the broader public. Antonio Negri, a Venetian diplomat, also gave an account in his reports of Zrínyi's attendance at the diet, wherein he emphasised Zrínyi's excellent relations with the archbishop of Mainz and the elector of Saxony. By this time Zrínyi may well have submitted several plans to the ruler.[28] At any rate, in his reports, Negri also mentioned the arrival of the military engineer Wassenhoven.[29] Evidently, many Hungarians were present in Regensburg, among them Chancellor György Szelepcsényi, who entered with the ruler,[30] Mihály Bory, envoy of Palatine Ferenc Wesselényi, and Imre Kiss, a representative of Zsófia Báthory, the widow of George Rákóczi II, prince of Transylvania.[31]

A Regensburg chronicle kept between 1661 and 1670 also indicates that in 1663–1664 the burghers of the city had access to, and were interested in, reports on the situation Hungary.[32] In early 1663, the unknown chronicler noted the ringing of church bells in response to the Ottoman attack. In his account he included the text of a decree that prayers to be recited every

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[27] Á. R. Várkonyi, *Európa Zrínyije. Válogatott tanulmányok* [Europe's Zrínyi. Selected studies] (Budapest 2010). See especially the chapter entitled "Egyetemes játéktér – magyar politika" [Universal playground – Hungarian politics], 269−308.

[28] N. L. Szelestei, "Zrínyi Miklós tanácsai Lipót császárnak 1664 tavaszán" [Miklós Zrínyi's advice to Emperor Leopold in the spring of 1664], *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények* 80 (1980), 185−198. This is linked to the Imperial Diet of Regensburg (and the plan is dated to February 1664), in S. Bene, "Zrínyi-levelek 1664-ből" [Zrínyi's letters from 1664], *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények* 96 (1992), 231−233.

[29] Bene, "Zrínyi-levelek 1664-ből," 225−242; S. Bene, "A Zrínyi testvérek az Ismeretlenek Akadémiáján" [The Zrínyi brothers at the Academy of the Unknown], *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények* 97 (1993), 654.

[30] *Kurzer Entwurff, der Röm. Kaeyserl. Mayest. Leopoldi, Zu Regenspurg gehaltenen Einzugs geschehen den 12 (22) Decemb. Im Jahr Christi 1663. Regensburg, gedruckt durch Christoff Fischern, In Verlegung Leonhardt Christoff Lochnern von Nürnberg*, in Paas, *The German Political Broadsheet*, 9:111.

[31] Á. R. Várkonyi, *Török világ és magyar külpolitika* [The Ottoman world and Hungarian foreign policy] (Budapest 1975), 54−55; eadem, *Európa Zrínyije*, 249−256.

[32] Stadtarchiv Regensburg [Herafter: StAR], Chroniken I Ae 2 28. Anonym Chronik No. 4 ab Anno 1661−1670.

Friday and Sunday against the Ottomans,[33] as well as a prayer for children published by the Regensburg printer Christoph Fischer.[34] In the summer of 1663, the chronicler reported that troops from Bavaria, Mainz and the Palatinate had passed through the city on their way to fight the Ottomans in Hungary.[35] He also noted the visit to Regensburg of Wolfgang Julius Hohenlohe, whom he described as the commander-in-chief of the imperial auxiliary forces.[36] It is worth mentioning that the city of Regensburg contributed a substantial sum to the imperial auxiliary force deployed in the war against the Ottomans, thereby strengthening the Bavarian contingent.[37]

Reports from the battlefield become more frequent in the chronicle in late 1663. In October the chronicler even included a report on the fall of Érsekújvár.[38] The chronicler was clearly fascinated when nine camels and three Ottomans were brought into Regensburg as military booty. He noted that only three camels and one Ottoman were to be retained at the court of the bishop of Regensburg, because the others belonged to the archbishops of Cologne and Mainz.[39] In November 1663, a Nuremberg municipal chronicle also reported on this sensation—the arrival of camels accompanied by an Ottoman. However, in this instance the chronicler stated that they were a diplomatic gift from Miklós Zrínyi to the ecclesiastical elector

[33] "Dekret zu den Gebetsstunden um Sucess der christlichen Waffen wider des Erbfeinds… und Erhaltung des Friedens Bettstund der Wochen an den Freytag in Kirchen," StAR, Chroniken I Ae2 Nr. 28. 8 March 1663.

[34] "1663 den 17 Augusti "Christliche Vermahnung wie auch Kirchen und Schul Gebett wider den besorgenden Einfall des grausmaben Erbfeinds der Christenheit des Türcken bey … Bettstund, wie auch in den Schulen und daheim zu Hauss. Regensburg… durch Christoff Fischern im Jahr 1663," StAR Chroniken I Ae2 Nr. 28.

[35] "1663 Den 12 July kommen die bayerische Soldaten so weg das Türckh zu Hülff geschickt am ein der Statt an Hof so Dienstags darauf auf Schiffenfarth geschickt," StAR Chroniken I Ae2 Nr. 28.

[36] "1663. den 3. Oktobris "Diesen Tag raisete auch von hier an Herrn Graf Wolf Julich von Hohenlohe welches die Reichsvölcker führen sollte," StAR Chroniken I Ae2 Nr. 28.

[37] StAR Cam. 125. 1664, Gemeine Statt Regenpurg Hauptrechnung, f. 102−103.

[38] "1663 den 23. Sept. "folgenden Tages kam die Post Übergab Vestung Neuhausel," StAR Chroniken I Ae2 Nr. 28.

[39] "1663 den 30. octobris "wurden zu dem Erzbischoff 9 Kamel neben 3 Türcken gebracht 3 Ihme verehret 3 wurde nach Mainz und 3 nach Cöln und alle Zeit 3. zu eine Türck mit gegeben," ibid.

princes.[40] The Regensburg chronicler provided little information of substance about the talks held in 1664. Indeed, there is no mention in his chronicle of the idea of an offensive war or of the disputes surrounding the choice of commander-in-chief of the united auxiliary force; his knowledge seems to have been limited to the major celebrations affecting the city's elite.

In Regensburg the chronicler clearly did not mention all the reports on Hungary that were published or accessible in print. After the winter campaign, the printer Christoph Fischer published a poem with a bitonal melody praising the Zrínyi brothers. This seems to have been around the time of Péter Zrínyi's visit to Regensburg.[41]

The Regensburg library's early modern collection reflects the availability of many different types of publication at the imperial diet; from the Siege of Kanizsa until the Battle of Léva[42] many pamphlets reported on the military successes against the Ottomans. The Siege of Kanizsa (in the spring of 1601) was reported on in a pamphlet published in May, which included an engineer's plan decorated with portraits of Miklós Zrínyi, Wolfgang Hohenlohe and Pietro Stozzi. The pamphlet mentions the actions of Captain-General Kristóf Batthyány and Pál Esterházy.[43] A picture of Zrínyi on horseback has survived in Regensburg. Wolfgang Julius Hohenlohe, lieutenant-general of the troops of the League of the Rhine, also had published in Regensburg a sizeable pamphlet on the Battle of Szent-

[40] N. G. Etényi, *Hadszíntér és nyilvánosság. A magyarországi török háború hírei a 17. századi német újságokban* [Theatre of war and the public sphere. News reports on the Turkish war in Hungary appearing in German newspapers in the 17th century] (Budapest 2003), 190. Many reports were published on Zrínyi's Tatar prisoner, and the comet seen at Csáktornya in January 1664 was presented as a sign from Heaven.

[41] *Zu Ehren Neu aufgesetztes Lied Beyder Herrn Grafen von Serin Herrn Niclas und Herrn Petern beyden Gebrüdern in Noten zur Music übergeben im Jahr 1664*, Staatsbibliothek Regensburg Hist. Pol. 1186. 17. Cf. Apponyi, *Hungarica*, 938.

[42] Many pamphlets were published on Louis Raduit Souches's victories in Upper Hungary. A pamphlet published by Paul Fürst in Nuremberg contained the original report by Souches on the Battle of Léva (19 July 1664) and the heroic death of Stephen Koháry. See: *Abbildung und Beschreibung des herrlichen Siegs…*, in Paas, *The German Political Broadsheet*, 9:186.

[43] *Rechte aus dem Feldläger übersandte Abbildung und Beschreibung der Türckischen Vestung Canischa…*, in Paas, *The German Political Broadsheet*, 9:171.

gotthárd. The pamphlet underscored the role played by the League of the Rhine troops with an engraving by Mathias Sommer.[44]

In October 1663, the Ottoman and Tatar marauders even threatened Pressburg, and so a description of the fortification plans produced by the military engineer Captain-General Joseph Priami appeared, illustrated with an engraving. A pamphlet on Pressburg, published in 1663 and produced in Nuremberg, includes an engraving by Lucas Schnitzer. [45] It shows the coronation city with the sites of the diet, the royal castle, Saint Martin's Cathedral, the garden of György Lippay, archbishop of Esztergom, and the mansion of the former palatine Pál Pálffy. The various descriptions also give details of the political functions of the city.

Among the various military events in 1664, the chronicler praised the military success at the Battle of Szentgotthárd, which was fought using the emperor's army and imperial auxiliary forces, including a French contingent of six-thousand men. The chronicler's sources are the reports of soldiers in the auxiliary forces, whereby he merely promises to attach a printed report.[46] He also copied in the official report on Raduit Souches's victory at Párkány (Štúrovo) on 1 August 1664.[47] In late September he noted the various clauses of the Peace of Vasvár, a disadvantageous agreement that had been signed in secret on 10 August,[48] and he also recorded the sermons made in October announcing the end of the war against the Ottomans,[49] as well as sermons arguing against the controversial peace settlement.[50] The chronicler also mentions the death of Miklós Zrínyi on 18

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[44] Paas, *The German Political Broadsheet*, 9:241; N. G. Etényi, "Wolfgang Julius Hohenlohe Zrínyi-kultusza" [The Zrínyi cult of Wolfgang Julius Hohenlohe], in *Portré és imázs. Politikai propaganda és reprezentáció a kora újkorban*, ed. by N. G. Etényi and I. Horn (Budapest 2008), 437−464.

[45] *Eigentlicher Grundriss des Statt und Königlichen Residenz-Schloss Pressburg, Recht eigentlicher Abriss der Königlichen Haubt- und Residentz-Stadt, Pressburg*, Hungarian National Museum [hereafter: MNM], TKCS 53.982. Cf. *Johann Schnitzer to Lucas Schnitzer*, ed. by U. Mielke and T. Falk (Rotterdam 1999), 85, 86; Paas, *The German Political Broadsheet*, 9:108; Szalai, *Magyar városok*, 1663/1, table 14.

[46] StAR Chroniken I Ae2 Nr. 28. 1664 den 12 Augusti. All the major publishers in Augsburg and Nuremberg published a pamphlet on the Battle of Szentgotthárd. Cf. Paas, *The German Political Broadsheet*, 9:232−244. On the military event, see: G. Wagner, *Das Türkenjahr 1664. Eine europäische Bewährung* (Eisenstadt 1964).

[47] StAR Chroniken I Ae2 Nr. 28.den 23. Sept. 1663, den 12. Aug. 1664.

[48] "1664 den 22. Septembris," StAR Chroniken I Ae2 Nr. 28.

[49] "Anno 1664 Freytag den 14 Oktobris Regensburg Gedruck und verlegt durch Christoph Fischern im 1664. Jahr," StAR Chroniken I Ae2 Nr. 28.

[50] "1664 den 14. Nov," StAR Chroniken I Ae2 Nr. 28.

November.[51] The reports appearing in the chronicle are evidently more succinct than the reports of the various envoys of the imperial cities, but they also show how readers in the city reacted to news from Hungary.

The contemporary significance of printed news is shown by a supplement to a publication appearing in Regensburg. Attached to Christoph Fischer's report on the Battle of Szentgotthárd, which was published by Johann von Stauffenberg, we find a correction printed in red, in which fellow soldiers protest against the many lies published about the battle.[52] In his manuscript work, Pál Esterházy, who would later become palatine, also refuted the prejudiced conclusions in the report.[53]

Based on the contents of the early modern collection of the library of the imperial city of Regensburg, we may conclude that there was a demand for multifaceted information not only on the part of the top decision-makers, but also among the city's cultural elite. For some decades, Regensburg made an annual payment of one-hundred thalers to Jonas Schrimpf, the Viennese agent of the city of Nuremberg, for representing the city and protecting its interests as well as supplying information from Vienna.[54] Schrimpf had excellent relations with the intellectual class in both Regensburg and Nuremberg.

The municipal accounts also reflect efforts by the city fathers to establish a high-standard municipal library. They observed newspapers and other publications, and they also collected the volumes of the *Diarium Europaeum* (1659–1683).[55] In Regensburg one could obtain the publications of the major publishers in southern Germany, Nuremberg, Augsburg and Ulm, all of which had traditionally played an important role in the communication of news concerning Hungary. The official publications of the

[51] "1664 den 23 (Novembris) kam die Post hierher von Graf Niclass von Serin das ihme ein Wildschwein jammelich umgebracht," StAR Chroniken I Ae2 Nr. 28.

[52] "Gründliche warhafftige und unpartheynische Relation des blutigen Treffens… den 1. Augusti An 1664. bey St. Gotthard in Ungern … Regenspurg gedruckt bey Christoff Fischer den 12. Febr. Anno 1665," Staatsbibliothek Regensburg Hist. Pol. 1186. 1; Apponyi, *Hungarica*, 2089. Röpl. 702.

[53] G. Hausner, "Esterházy Pál emlékirata Zrínyi 1663−64-ben vívott harcairól" [Pál Esterházy's memoir of Zrínyi's wars fought in 1663−64], in *Esterházy Pál, Mars Hungaricus*, ed. by E. Iványi (Budapest 1989), 13−14, 465, 491.

[54] "Anno 1664 erstlich Herr Johann Schrimpfen gemeine Statt Agenten am Kayserl Hoff sein vom 17 Octobris 1663 biss 1664 wider solchen Tag Verfallems besoldung zahlt 100 gulden," StAR Cameralia 125. 1664 f. 217. Cf. Eténi, *Hadszíntér és nyilvánosság*, 208−209.

[55] StAR Cam. Hauptrechnung der Stadt Regensburg Cam 124. 1663. f. 264.; Ibid., Cam 125. 1664. f. 283.

imperial diet and their engravings were published in collaboration with publishers in Regensburg and Nuremberg.

In the printed reports accessible in Regensburg, the war against the Ottomans in Hungary was portrayed as a public matter in 1663–1664. Johann Hoffmann (1629–1698), an engraver and publisher active in Nuremberg between 1663 and 1698, published many illustrated pamphlets, reports and accounts on Hungary at the time of the war in 1663–1664, and he also published a historical and geographical work and map on the Kingdom of Hungary. Also available was a work by Sigmund von Birken, the popular Nuremberg poet, on towns situated along the Danube. Von Birken's work was first published in 1664,[56] but it received many additions, and was ultimately published in eighteen different editions—in German, Italian and English.[57] In 1664, Jacob Sandrart from Nuremberg, who had already published many pamphlets on the situation in Hungary, published a map of the country,[58] with depictions of *Hungaria* and *Germania* "telling" of their common defeat at the hands of the Ottomans. A map published with portraits of Emperor Leopold I and the Ottoman Sultan Mehmed IV[59] summarised the military events of 1663–1664 and listed the names of Hungary's kings, beginning with King Stephen I. The role played in political propaganda and representation by printed maps of the Kingdom of Hungary was recognised by Ferenc Nádasdy, the country's chief justice. In 1664, Nádasdy ordered a coloured map of Hungary from the Amsterdam publisher Johannes Blaeu. It was with Nádasdy's sponsorship that—also in 1664—a translation by Sigmund von Birken of the Mausoleum, with "portraits of the Hungarian kings," was published by the Endter publishing house in Nuremberg.[60]

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[56] S. Birken, *Der Donau Strand mit allen seinen Ein- und Zuflüssen, angelegenen Königreichen, Provintzen, Herrschaffen und Städten auch derselben alten und neuen Namen… vorgestellet.. des Anno 1663. und 1664. geführten Türken-Krieges.. Jacob Sandrart, Kupferstecher und Kunsthandler in Nürnberg, 1664* (Nuremberg 1664).

[57] Szalai, *Magyar városok*, 110–116.

[58] Stadtbibliothek Regensburg [hereafter: StBR], Lade 19/10. "Neue Landtafeln von Hungarn und dessen incorporirten Königreichen und Provinzen."

[59] StBR Lade 19, 4. "Nova et exacta Totius Regni Hungariae delineatio A. 1664. bey Johann Hofmann Kunsthandler in Nürnberg."

[60] F. Nadasdy, *Mausoleum Potentissimorum ac Gloriosissimorum Regni Apostolici Regum et Primorum Militantis Ungariae Ducum* (Nuremberg 1664, repr. Budapest 1991). On the Endter publishing house, see: F. Oldenbourg, *Die Endter. Eine Nürnberger Buchhändlerfamilie. (1590−1740). Monographische Studie* (Munich and Berlin 1911).

The year 1665 saw the publication of an extended version of Hieronymus Ortelius's influential work on the struggle against the Ottomans in the Kingdom of Hungary and its political role, which had originally been published in 1602. The work covered in particular the events of the Fifteen Years' War. The 1665 edition was published with additional material on the anti-Ottoman struggles, as well as some authentic engravings.[61] The work, which emphasised and underscored the role of the Hungarian political and military elite in the wars against the Ottomans, portrayed the 1663–1664 war as an issue that also affected the Holy Roman Empire. Indeed, it presented the chance to repel the Ottomans as a great opportunity. Still, most of the works on the Kingdom of Hungary were not historical summaries but discussions of events in the various cities. This was true of the publication issued by Endter in the early spring of 1664. Another popular work in the period, Erasmus Francisci's "Neue und kurtze Beschreibung des Königreichs Ungarn…," also presented the vicissitudes of the Ottoman wars in terms of their effects on everyday life in the various cities.[62] Francisci, whose writing was both clear and incisive, also edited the market reports that were published bi-annually. In 1664, his descriptions of Hungarian towns were also published in the descriptions of the Ottoman Empire and Hungary.

Summarising a pamphlet published at an earlier date, Martin Zimmermann—who was active in Augsburg between 1648 and 1668—recorded the 1663–1664 Ottoman campaigns in the form an illustrated history (from

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[61] H. Ortelius, *Chronologia: Oder Historische Beschreibung aller Kriegsempörungen und belaegerungen der Staette und Vestungen .. von Anno 1395 bis… gegenwertige Zeit* (Nuremberg 1602); id., *Continuatio Dess Hungarischen und Siebenbürgischen Kriegswesen vom Julio Anno 1602 bis auff jetziges 1603. Jahr*; cf. Apponyi, *Hungarica*, 2602; H. Ortelius, *Vierdtter Theil. Dess Hungerischen unnd Sibenbürgischen Kriegswesens, 1604. Biss auff A. 160…* (Nuremberg 1613); id., *Chronologia Oder Historische Beschreibung…* (Nuremberg 1613–1615); cf. Apponyi, *Hungarica*, 1532, 1531; Dutch translation: Amsterdam 1619. Cf. Apponyi, *Hungarica*, 1539; H. Ortelius, *Chronologia oder Historische Beschreibung…* (Nuremberg 1622). Cf. Apponyi, *Hungarica*, 1536; H. Ortelius, *Ortelius Redivivus Et Continuatus Oder Ungarische Kriegs−Empörungen, … 1607 bis an der 1665 Jahr…* (Nuremberg 1665); cf. Apponyi, *Hungarica*, 1540; J. C. Feigius, *Wunderbahrer Adlers-Schwung oder fernere Geschichts-Forstezung Ortelii redivivi et Continuati* (Vienna 1694); cf. Apponyi, *Hungarica*, 528, 529.

[62] G. Dünnhaupt, "Erasmus Francisci, ein Nürnberger Polihitor des siebzehnten Jahrhunderts: Biographie und Bibiliographie," *Philobiblon* 19 (1975), 271−303; id., "Das Oeuvre Erasmus Francisci (1627−1697) und sein Einfluss auf die deutsche Literatur," *Daphnis* 6 (1977), 359−364.

the battles in Párkány until the Siege of Kanizsa).[63] A work by the popular travel writer Martin Zeiller (1589–1661) was produced based on notes made by Veit Marchthaler, an agent for the Henckel family who had spent many years in Hungary.[64] Zeiller's work,[65] republished in 1646, 1660 and 1664, was arranged according to the towns in the 1664 Ulm edition.[66] In the 1660 edition, the author also made use of an earlier work by the Hungarian Crown Guard Péter Révay, entitled *De monarchia et sacra corona regni Hungariae centuriae septem*, first published in 1659,[67] as well as a work entitled *De sacra Corona Regni Hungariae*, first published in 1613 and republished in 1652.[68] Révay's grandson, Ferenc Nádasdy (1623–1671), Hungary's lord chief justice, arranged for the work to be published in Frankfurt am Main.[69] Examining the political background, the work dis-

[63] M. Zimmermann, *Ganz Newe Beschreibung dess jüngst inn Hungarn Türcken Kriegs desselben Anfang wie auch End Im Jahr Christi 1664 bey Martin Zimmermann in Augsburg* (Augsburg 1664); id.**,** *Denckwürdige Historia, Das ist Kurte und warhafftige Beschreibung sampt beygefügten Kupferstichen des jüngst vorgegangenen Kriegs Der Röm. Kaeserl. Leopoldi dess Ersten…* (Augsburg 1665); cf. Apponyi, *Hungarica*, 942.

[64] K. S. Németh, "Eine wiederentdeckte Reisebeschreibung Veit Marhthaler: Ungarische Sachen, 1588," in *Deutschland und Ungarn in ihren Bildungs- und Wissenschaftsbeziehungen während der Renaissance*, ed. by W. Kühlmann and A. Schindling (Stuttgart 2004), 207−218; eadem, "Magyarságismeret a XVII. században (Martin Zeiller példája)" [The knowledge of Hungarians in the 17th century (the example of Martin Zeiller)], in *Mindennapi választások. Tanulmányok Péter Katalin 70. születésnapja tiszteletére*, ed. by G. Erdélyi and P. Tusor (Budapest 2007), 637−656.

[65] Eadem, "Német útleírások Magyarországról. Mutatvány egy készülő antológiából" [German travelogues about Hungary. From a forthcoming anthology], in *Visszapillantó tükör. Lukácsy Sándor emlékkönyv*, ed. by F. Kerényi and G. Kecskeméti (Budapest 1999), 15−24.

[66] M. Zeiller, *Newe Beschreibung Dess Königreichs Ungarn und darzu gehörigen Landen Stätten und Vornemster Örthen…* (Ulm 1660)

[67] P. de Rewa, *De Monarchia et sacra corona regni Hungariae centuriae septem* (Frankfurt 1659)

[68] P. de Rewa, *De Sacrae Coronae Regni Hungariae Ortu, Virtute, Victoria, Fortuna, Annos Ultra DC. Clarissimae Brevis Commentarius* (Augsburg 1613, Vienna 1652)

[69] Gy. Rózsa, "Nádasdy Ferenc és a művészet" [Ferenc Nádasdy and art], *Művészettörténeti Értesítő* 3, 3 (1970), 188; Á. R. Várkonyi, "… Jó Budavár magas tornyán… A magyar államiság szimbólumairól Mohács után" […On the high tower of Buda castle… The symbols of Hungarian statehood after Mohács], in *Hagyomány és történelem. Ünnepi kötet Für Lajos 70. születésnapjára*, ed. by S. Gebei (Eger 2000), 83−90. K. Teszelszky, *Az ismeretlen korona. Jelentések,*

cussed the significance of the Hungarian diets, the role of the palatines, and the political room for manoeuvre of the Hungarian estates. It appraised the political weight of the Kingdom of Hungary and its significance within the region. Elias Wideman's book (1652) contained portrait engravings of members of the Hungarian political elite.[70] The portrait series underscored the unity of Hungary's religious and secular elite to the outside world; such unity was favourable to an international joint effort to defeat the Ottomans.[71] A chronicle published by Paul Fürst (1608–1666) in Nuremberg in 1663 contained biographical sketches of members of the Hungarian political elite, accompanied by small copies of the Wideman engravings.[72]

Johann Hofmann, producer of the 1664 edition of Zeiller's work, claimed that a new edition was in great demand because of the unfolding events in Hungary. For this reason, pictures of Hungary's towns by Wilhelm Dillich (1571–1650) were included in the work, which now ran to 500 pages.[73] With its focus on the history and current status of the various towns, this new edition reflected the urban-centric mentality and expectations of readers in Germany's towns and cities.[74] The burghers were deci-

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szimbólumok és nemzeti identitás [The unknown crown. Meanings, symbols and national identity] (Pannonhalma 2009), 318−323.

[70] Gy. Rózsa, "Hírneves magyarok arcképcsarnoka 1652-ből. Elias Wideman rézmetszetei" [Potrait gallery of famous Hungarians from 1652. Elias Wideman's engravings], in E. Wideman, *Icones illustrium heroum Hungariae. Viennae 1652*, ed. by Á. W. Salgó (repr. Budapest 2004).

[71] E. Buzási, "Nádasdy Ferenc pottendorfi galériájának fennmaradt arcképei és Widemann-portrésorozatok" [Surviving portraits and the Wideman portrait series of the Pottendorf gallery of Ferenc Nádasdy], *Művészettörténeti Értesítő* 50 (2001), 15−30; Gy. Rózsa, "Elias Wideman rézmetszet-sorozat és a Westfáliai béke. Adatok a 17. századi portréfestészet történetéhez" [The engraving series by Elias Wideman and the Peace of Westphalia. Data for the history of portrait painting in the 17th century], *Művészettörténeti Értesítő* 55 (2006), 259, 264.

[72] "Türckische und Ungarische Chronica oder kurtze historische Beschreibung aller dem hochlöblichsten Ertz-Haus Oesterreich, auch anderen chritlichen Potentaten…" Cf. Apponyi, *Hungarica*, 880.

[73] W. Dilich, *Ungarische Chronica, Darinnen ordentliche, eigentliche und kurtze beschreibungen des Ober und Nieder Ungarn…* (Kassel 1606); Gy. Rózsa, "Hódoltsági várostörténetünk képes forrásai: A Dilich-krónika vedutái" [Pictorial sources of urban history in Ottoman Hungary: vedutas of the Dilich chronicology], *Keletkutatás* 1 (1987), 122–134.

[74] T. Besing, "Produktion und Publikum – Aspekte der Herrstellung, Verbreitung und Rezeption früheneneuzeitlicher Stadtdarstellungen," in *Das Bild der Stadt in der Neuzeit 1400−1800*, ed. by W. Behringer and B. Roeck (Munich 1999), 94−100.

sive in disseminating the news reports and in maintaining a market for news. Those making a living from the "black art" mediated the printed material not only in line with the material issued by the ruling courts and the propaganda disseminated in the military arenas, but also in a form that met local needs, thus reflecting changes in the political and economic potential of the various towns. Urban centres in Hungary and Germany were linked by a network of economic, religious and cultural relations, which became closer and more complex over time.

The Nuremberg publishers Wolf Eberhard Felsecker (1626–1680) and Johann Joachim Felsecker published the weekly newspaper *Friedens und Kriegscurrier* from 1663 until 1680.[75] For several decades the family ran the newspaper successfully. At the time of the war of reconquest, Johann Jonathan Felsecker (1680–1693) also published pamphlets that became known for their authentic pictorial representations. Even so, in the early spring of 1664, a little book with descriptions of towns in the Kingdom of Hungary was published so quickly that in one copy, empty pages could be found in place of the engravings.[76] The cultivated Regensburg owner of this particular copy decided to make use of the empty pages: in the summer of 1664, he added in reports of events in Hungary, including the Siege of Léva in July.[77] Another volume in Regensburg, a collection of printed reports from 1663, contains a manuscript summary of the fortress battles that had occurred between 1660 and 1664.[78] It also includes a Regensburg soldier's first-hand manuscript account of the Battle of Szentgotthárd.[79]

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[75] W. Zimmermann, *Entwicklungsgeschichte des Nürnberger "Friedens- und Kriegskuriers" ("Nürnberger Kurier") von seinen ersten Anfängen bis zum Übergang an den "Fränkischen Kurier" 1663−1865. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des deutschen Zeitungswesens* (Nuremberg 1930), 46–83, 85−127.

[76] C. Minsicht, *Neue und kurze Beschreibung Des Königreichs Ungarn 1664 ... C.M. Verlegt durch Beschrieben Johann Hoffmann, Kunsthändler in Nürnberg, Gedruckt bey Wolfgang Eberhard Felsecker 1664* (Nuremberg 1664), StBR Hist. pol. 40.

[77] *Eigentlicher Abbildung diss harten Treffens bey Lewentz, mit den Türcken den 9/19 July 1664 und erlangter Victory.*

[78] *Verzeichnis der jenigen Stette und Schlössern auch beygesegten Orth und Vestungen welche in under Ungarn diss und Innensiets der Thonau liegen…*, StBR 4. Hist. pol. 653.

[79] "Extract Schreiben so von Herr Nicola Hönige Churbayerische am 11. Aug. 1664." Ibid.

Changing possibilities in the late seventeenth century

After the Treaty of Westphalia, the potential for alliances enhanced the political room for manoeuvre of the prince electors vis-à-vis the imperial authority. Meanwhile, however, the common external threat, the strengthening of French and Swedish influence, and the possibility of an Ottoman attack, bolstered cohesion within the Holy Roman Empire.[80] Publicists within the Empire brought their knowledge of state theory into the public discourse,[81] citing the theory of the balance of power as part of a system of norms and in opposition to the spectre of "universal monarchy."[82] The propaganda of the war against the Ottomans in Hungary in 1663–1664 reflected first and foremost the political strategy of the elector princes, but the unexpected and secret signing of the Peace of Vasvár resulted in the realisation of Emperor Leopold I's interests. Using effective means and collaborating with renowned publishers in Vienna and Nuremberg, the new elite officials at the imperial court informed contemporary public opinion of the liquidation of the Hungarian aristocratic movement and the execution of Ferenc Nádasdy, Péter Zrínyi and Ferenc Frangepán between 1671 and 1672.

In the 1670s, imperial policy was the decisive factor in the relationship between the Habsburg ruler and the estates of the Holy Roman Empire.[83] However, a rather negative overall image of Emperor Leopold I and his court emerges from the writings of contemporary German publicists. This negative image reflects first and foremost Leopold I's failure to intervene effectively in the defence of the Dutch Republic—which was under attack

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[80] M. Wrede, *Das Reich und seine Feinde. Politische Feindbilder in der Reichspatriotischen Publizistik zwischen westfälischem Frieden und siebenjäghrigem Krieg* (Mainz 2004).

[81] G. Schmidt, "Das Reich und Europa in deutschsprachigen Flugschriften. Überlegungen zur räsonierenden Öffentlichkeit und politischen Kultur im 17. Jahrhundert," in *Europa im 17. Jahrhundert. Ein politischer Mythos und seine Bilder*, ed. by K. Bussmann and E. A. Werner (Stuttgart 2004), 119−149.

[82] A. Gestrich, *Absolutismus und Öffentlichkeit. Politische Kommunikation und Deutschland zu Beginn des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Göttingen 1994); W. E. J. Weber, "Die Erfindung des Politikers. Bemerkungen zu einem gescheiterten Professionalisierungskonzept der deutschen Politikwissenschaft des ausgehenden 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts," in *Aspekte der politischen Kommunikation im Europa des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts*, ed. by L. Schorn−Schütte (Munich 2004), 347−370.

[83] H. Klueting, "Das Reich und Österreich 1648–1740," in *Sacrum Imperium. Das Reich und Österreich 996–1806*, ed. by W. Brauneder and L. Höbelt (Vienna 1996), 162–287, 212–213.

from the French army. Further, Leopold had also prevented the free practice of the Protestant religion in his dominions.

In the 1670s, the emergence of absolute rule affected the treatment of public opinion, with the principal change being a stricter censorship policy. In the 1670s, many of the writings of publicists addressed the consequences of the court's overt absolutism[84] and the persecution of Protestant preachers. Individual stories revealed the political significance and network of relationships of the Protestant community in Hungary and the crisis afflicting towns inhabited by Protestants.[85] The impression we have is a fragmentary one, and yet we can still identify the network of preachers, schoolmasters and peregrinating students who were able—thanks to assistance from Protestant intellectuals in Germany's urban centres—to survive the period of persecution as exiles from Hungary. The German Protestant envoys to the court in Vienna noted the effects of the political reality on life in such Hungarian Protestant towns as Sopron and Eperjes. Among the various Hungarian towns with Protestant majorities, Sopron was able to make good use of its geographic location to obtain and provide news quickly in Vienna. Printed newspapers appearing in Latin reported on the Sopron diet (1681) and were taken to the imperial diet in Regensburg.[86]

By the end of the seventeenth century, with the development of a new kind of descriptive history and geography focussing on regions (i.e. *Landeskunde* or *Staatenkunde*), a systematic effort was made to study the economic features, road network, commercial opportunities and peoples of the area. There was an awareness that for a state to be effective, it needed to have access to a wide range of data. Accordingly, printed reports produced during the war of reconquest contained detailed lists of the military capacities of the various fortresses (Székesfehérvár, Eger, Kanizsa, etc.), whereby emphasis was laid on the advantages of reoccupation rather than the costs. From October 1683 onwards, the imperial court regularly produced official printed reports, covering the Battle of Párkány, the occupa

[84] Á. R. Várkonyi, "A Wesselényi szervezkedés történetéhez 1664−1671" [Towards the history of the Wesselényi conspiracy, 1664–1671], in *Tanulmányok Szakály Ferenc emlékére*, ed. by P. Fodor et al. (Budapest 2002), 424−425; O. Sashegyi, "Az állami könyvcenzúra kezdetei Magyarországon (1673−1705)" [The beginning of state censorship in Hungary (1673−1705)], *Magyar Könyvszemle* 84 (1968), 1, 3.

[85] I. H. Németh, "Städtepolitik und Wirtschaftspolitik in Ungarn in der Frühen Neuzeit (16−17. Jahrhundert)," in *Geteilt – Vereinigt. Beiträge zur Geschichte des Königreichs Ungarn in der Frühen Neuzeit. (16.−18. Jahrhundert)*, ed. by K. Csaplár-Degovics and I. Fazekas (Berlin 2011), 329−355.

[86] *Relatio de rebus Hungaricis Viennae die 12* (…), StBR 4 Hist. pol. 541/19.

Fig. 4. The Siege of Esztergom

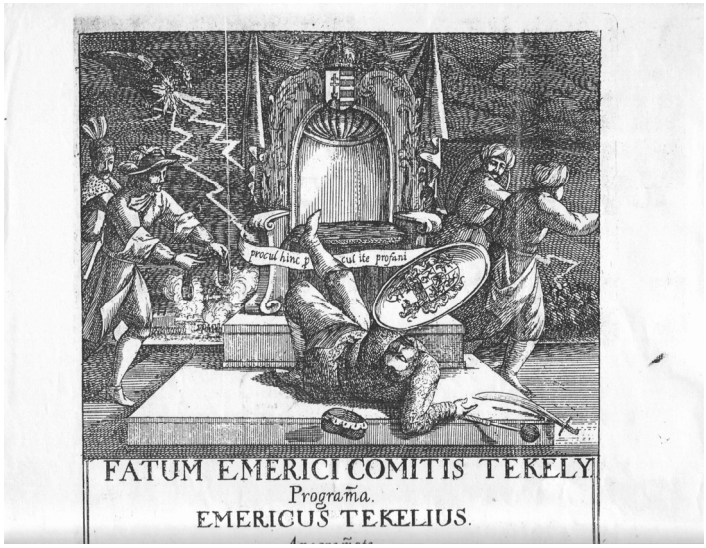

Fig. 5. Emmerich Thököly as the subject of satire

tion of Esztergom (fig. 4), and—in 1684—the successes along the Danube. Military diaries on the recapture of Érsekújvár in 1685 were sent on a weekly basis to the imperial diet at Regensburg. Maximilian Emmanuel, the elector of Bavaria, constantly had reports printed in the period leading up to the Battle of Nagyharsány. A pamphlet published by Thomas Wiering of Hamburg on the siege of the bridge at Eszék in contained only a short account of military developments, but it described in detail the "most famous wooden bridge in Europe" which had been crossed by Sultan Suleiman in 1529 at the start of his offensive against Vienna and again in 1566 in the offensive against Szigetvár.[87] In 1664, Miklós Zrínyi's and Wolfgang Hohenlohe's troops had already successfully torched the bridge, as they had done to the town of Pécs. In connection with the 1687 siege of the bridge at Eszék, a pamphlet published by Jacob Koppmayer of Augsburg, citing several books and maps by Wolfgang Lazius, Hieronymus Ortelius, Wilhelm Dilich and Caspar Ens, emphasised the importance of the five-kilometre-long bridge and the town that defended it.[88]

In the 1680s, the Hungarian with the greatest reputation in international circles was not one of the dignitaries or upper noblemen collaborating with the king and the imperial court in the military arena, but rather an opponent of the ruler: Emmerich Thököly. In a break with the norms of the era, Thököly politicised in favour of an alliance with the Ottomans. Until the Siege of Vienna in 1683, Thököly was viewed, in the Protestant German states, as a man who defended religious freedom and the interests of the Protestant towns in Hungary. In contrast, in imperial and papal propaganda, Thököly was the subject of mockery and satire (fig. 5). In such propaganda, the capture of the fortresses and towns held by Thököly was presented as an achievement of similar importance to the reconquest of areas held by the Ottomans. A broadsheet published in 1685 portrayed the town of Eperjes as having been the intellectual and economic base of the Thököly rebellion. At the University of Vienna's publishing house, Johann van Ghelen, a major printer at the imperial court, published a 30-page re-

[87] *Eigentlicher Abriss der Weltberühmten Essecker-Brücke in Ungarn und wie dieselbe in iezigem August-Monat zum Theil verbrandt worden" Hamburg Zu bekommen bey Thomas von Wiering im Guldnem A, B, C.,* (Hamburg 1685?). Cf. Szalai, *Magyar városok*, 64.

[88] *Warhaffte Abbildung des Haupt-Passes Esseck, samt der über den Drav-Fluss geschlagenen feindlichen Schiff-Bruckem, wie solche in diesem 1687. Jahr von den Kayserl. Völckern unlängstens abgebrandt und ruinirt worden. Augspurg und zufinden bey Jacobb Koppmayer*, MNM TKCs T 8340. Cf. Szalai, *Magyar városok*, 68 (Eszék, 1687/1).

port on the two-month siege and conquest of Eperjes, which it referred to as the "rebellion's workshop."[89]

The destruction of Thököly's power base was described in such detailed fashion in the imperial propaganda precisely because a substantial amount of printed information had already appeared concerning his political and military activity at the height of his career in 1681–1682. Pamphlets illustrated with equestrian portraits of Thököly had emphasised his upbringing, family background, economic and military strengths, and the fortresses under his control. Indeed, the manuscript newspapers brought to the imperial diet at Regensburg had underscored his growing political and military significance.[90] In 1684 and 1685, a series of broadsheets reported on the loss of his political influence, focussing on the capture by imperial forces of Eperjes[91] and Kassa.[92] In Regensburg in 1685, the imperial diplomat Leopold Joseph Graf von Lamberg attached to his official diary pictures with captions in German, Italian and Latin mocking Thököly's imprisonment at Várad (Oradea).[93]

Public opinion in the Holy Roman Empire had traditionally been supportive of the war against the Ottomans. Now the court of Emperor Leopold I needed to define, using modern political arguments, the new position of the Kingdom of Hungary and the Principality of Transylvania in the period of the war of reconquest. The weekly newspapers contained a

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[89] *Eigentliche Relation Der in Ober-Ungarn ligenden Statt Eperies, So von Ihro Eccell. Herrn General Valentin Graffen von Schulz den 20. Julii 1685. Belaegert… Wienn, bey Johan Van Ghelen Universitaet Buchtruckern. Zufinden unter der Ketten im Freissinger Hoff, bey Johann Conrad Ludwig.* Cf. Apponyi, *Hungarica*, 2218.

[90] B. Köpeczi, *Staatsräson und christliche Solidarität. Die Ungarischen Aufstände und Europa in der zweiten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Vienna 1983).

[91] *Warhaffte und ausführliche Relation, Welcher gestalt Der Kayserl. General Feldmarschall-Leutenant Ihr Excellenz Herr Graf Schulz den 18. Septembris dieses lauffenden Jahrs 1684. dess Töckely völliges Läger vor Eperies unter den Stücken glücklich aufgeschlagen und allen Raub erobert hat. (…) 1685 novembris 11/21*, StBR 2 Jur. 1133.

[92] *Relation, Die Ubergab CAschau an Ihro Kayserl. maestaet und die Gefangenschafft dess Töckely von den Türken betreffend*, StBR 2 Jur 1133; *Relation von der Eroberung Neuhaeusel… P.S. Gleich jezo will aus Ober-Ungarn verlauten als ob der Herr General Schulz die Vestung Eperrie erobert und Caschau brennet haette…*, StRB 4. Hist. 541./ 14/26; Cf. F. Polleross, *Die Kunst der Diplomatie. Auf den Spuren des kaiserlichen Botschafters Leopold Joseph Graf von Lamberg (1653−1706)* (Petersberg 2010), 235−237.

[93] Polleross, *Die Kunst der Diplomatie*, 235−237.

large amount of essential political information on the development of power relations in Europe.[94]

During the war against the Ottomans at the end of the seventeenth century, the presence of the imperial court in publicised political writings and in the popular genres underwent a radical change.[95] Although the operation of propaganda had yet to be institutionalised and the imperial court had failed to achieve a dominant role in the printed news sector, a striking development was the establishment of information channels and networks in which the information communicated by the Habsburg ruler's court closely reflected the interests of the imperial court.[96] A 30-page tract published in Regensburg in 1686, speculated, with reference to imperial patents, that the free flow of news would have to be upheld within and outside the Empire, given the fundamental political and economic interests of the imperial estates.[97]

Concerning the printed newspapers that appeared at the time of the war of reconquest, the pamphlets and broadsheets available at the imperial diets held in Regensburg in 1687 and 1688 are particularly important in relation to Hungary. They constitute a large and multifaceted collection of publications on Joseph I's coronation in Pressburg.[98] In addition to the of-

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[94] S. Schultheiß−Heinz, *Politik in der europäischen Publizistik. Eine historische Inhaltsanalyse von Zeitungen des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Stuttgart 2004).

[95] J. Johechen Berns, "Der nackte Monarch und die nackte Wahrheit. Ausknüfte der deutschen Zeitungs- und Zeremonialschriftem des späten 17. und frühen 18. Jahrhunderts zum Verhältnis von Hof und Öffentlichkeit," *Daphnis* 11 (1982), 335; G. Galavics, *"Kössünk kardot az pogány ellen." Török háborúk és képzőművészet* ["Let us gird our swords against the heathen." Turkish wars and art] (Budapest 1986), 110−112 and 116−121; M. Goloubeva, *The Glorification of Emperor Leopold I* (Mainz 2000).

[96] J. Schumann, *Die andere Sonne. Kaiserbild und Medienstrategien im Zeitalter Leopolds I.* (Berlin 2003), 215.

[97] *Fernere Gründliche und warhaffte Information und Ausführung, das Bottenwesen der gesamten Reichs-Staenden, sonderlich aber der Frey- und Reysuch Handels- und anderer Stadten, ... Regenspurg, In Verlegung Johann Conrad Emerichs, Gedruckt von Johann Georg Hofmann. Im Jahr Christi 1686*, Stadt- und Staatsbibliothek Augsburg B 4 Flugschriften Stw 808.

[98] J. C. Feigius, *Verzeichnuss Deren respective Hoch und Nieder-Stands-Personen Beeder Röm. Kayserlichen Majest. Majest…. Welche sich nacher Pressburg zu dero Crönung Dess... Josephi, ... Durch Joann. Constantin Feigium*; J. U. C, G. P. Zenarolla, *Ragguaglio Distinto Di tutte Particolarito passate nella Coronazione del Sereniss Re Gioseppe Primo, Arciduca d'Austria, c 46. Re d' Ugheria, seguita nia in Possonia li 9. Decembre 1687. Raccolto da D. Gio. P. Zenarolla Prep. di S. Nic. d' Alba Reale.*; *Vorstellung Der Von dem Grossmaechtigsten, Unüberwindlichste Römischen Kaeyser Leopoldo I. und Magdalena Theresia… an dero Erst-gebornen*

ficial Viennese publications, the reports and accounts in German, Latin and Italian indicate the great diversity of sources of information on the coronation. Although the engraved pamphlet commissioned by Palatine Pál Esterházy, which covered every religious and secular aspect of the coronation, was not available in Regensburg, manuscript reports sent to the imperial diet, a copy of the national diet propositions, and a description (based on the work of Antonio Bonfini) of the right to resistance contained in the Golden Bull, have survived as manuscript reports among the printed reports.

The impression gained by the public of the coronation of Joseph, king of Hungary, was a complex one. It reflected a variety of tangible representational and political interests. Through the publication of popular broadsheets, court and other officials with links to the court took part in the dissemination of information, whereby the "ratio status" viewpoint and the dynastic interests were always taken into consideration. At the same time, the Hungarian nobility also exerted political influence, thanks mainly to the effective propaganda work of Pál Esterházy. The broadsheets appearing around the time of the coronation reveal a new compromise framework for relations between the emperor and the Hungarian estates. In this new framework there was room both for the hereditary kingdom and for the values of the Kingdom of Hungary and the political influence of the Hungarian estates. In the propaganda of the war of reconquest, Joseph symbolised, as heir to the throne, a new era of peace and renewal. The economic and political significance of the Kingdom of Hungary was portrayed to the public as a factor of importance both to the House of Habsburg and to the Holy Roman Empire, thanks to the interests of the elector princes who were playing a significant role in the war against the Ottomans.

Conclusion

At the time of the war of reconquest, there was a significant attitudinal change in printed news relating to towns in Hungary. While publications on contemporary affairs included the tradition of the struggle against the Ottomans, they tended to give emphasis to what had been preserved in the course of the protracted struggle. Grandiose summaries underscored the change in epoch, also serving to record the memory of a disappearing

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Erb-Prinzen und Stammens-Mehrern Josepho Primo... Crönung des hoch- und Welt berühmten Königreichs Hungarn... und unzehlichen Adles in der gewöhnliche Crönung-Stadt Pressburg glücklich geworden, den 9. Tag Decembris Ao 1687. Relation Von Der am 9. Decembr. 1687. beschehenen Königlichen Crönung Pressburg, Hist. pol. 541_10. 2.

world, while recognising the values that should be preserved. In the international and imperial propaganda surrounding the long war fought against the Ottomans, there was an effort to describe not only the sacrifices made and the assistance given (as well as their political value), but also the economic significance of the returned territories, whereby all of this became an integral part of the contemporary political discourse. The descriptions of Hungary and its towns, which could often be fitted into a pocket or a pair of trunks, became sources of information for the soldiers and officers accompanying the imperial auxiliary forces. In the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century, the broadsheets published in German for the urban burghers and containing information on events in Hungary may even have influenced migration and settlement patterns—by encouraging urban burghers in Ulm, Nuremberg, Augsburg and Regensburg to move to the Hungarian towns freed from Ottoman rule.

In the Holy Roman Empire, the image of Hungary arising in the early modern era was one that responded sensitively to changes and reflected a variety of interests and conciliatory processes, which was also of vital political significance. The image formed in the German-speaking areas was then forwarded to other European centres as a credible and relevant source of information.

THE *FERTILITAS PANNONIAE* TOPOS IN GERMAN LITERATURE AFTER THE SECOND SIEGE OF VIENNA IN 1683

ORSOLYA LÉNÁRT

Eberhard Werner Happel (1647–1690) was a major writer of early modern German literature, yet he is still marginalised by literary history. Born in Kirchhain (Hessen), he made several detours after his student years (studying medical science, mathematics and law at Philipps University, Marburg) before he settled in Hamburg, which was held to be the "novel factory" of the age, where he worked as a tutor.[1] Hamburg, one of the centres of the seventeenth-century German-language press, greatly contributed to making Happel a prominent author of the age through his voluminous novels, rightly characterised by Joseph von Eichendorff as a "proper encyclopaedia."[2] Upon the success of his first "Kriegs-Roman," Happel did not hesitate to note down the events of the Ottoman wars in Hungary in the "tried and tested" way.[3] So Happel devoted the six volumes of *Der Ungarische Kriegs-Roman*, published between 1685 and 1697, to events in Hungary between 1664 and 1687, and in the preface to each volume he expressed his hope that the war would end with the glorious victory of Christian troops as soon as possible.[4]

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[1] N. Becker, "Happel magyar 'hadi román'-ja" [Happel's Hungarian war novel], *Egyetemes Philologiai Közlöny* 14 (1890), 374–390.

[2] J. von Eichendorff, *Geschichte der poetischen Literatur Deutschlands*, vol. 1 (Munich 1906), quoted in: F. Schock, *Die Text-Kunstkammer. Populäre Wissenssammlungen des Barock am Beispiel des Relationes Curiosae von E. W. Happel* (Cologne 2011), 5.

[3] E. W. Happel, *Der Durchleuchtigsten Christlichen Potentaten Kriegs-Roman* (Middelburg 1681).

[4] T. Schuwirth, *Eberhard Werner Happel (1647–1690). Ein Beitrag zur deutschen Literaturgeschichte des. 17. Jahrhunderts. Dissertation* (Marburg 1908), 104.

Der Ungarische Kriegs-Roman

Although the complex novel entitled *Der Ungarische Kriegs-Roman* (with more than 4,000 pages, the term is justified) has not been the focus of Germanic studies—in Hungary, and only partly in Germany—it can still serve as an important source for researchers studying the multi-coloured image of Hungarians in the Baroque era. Not only because of its period of origin, but also as a consequence of the compiling writing style so characteristic of the age, it reveals such a treasury of images of Hungarians at the time, unifying older notions spanning across centuries and coming down from generation to generation to slowly evolve into topoi, as well as "images" highly responsive to the political and historical changes of the period.[5] Happel's work represents Hungary through the filter of German-speaking publicity of the era (the writer's resources mainly included leaflets, newspapers and travelogues), and thus the novel can give us insights into the development and sometimes radical changes of the image of Hungarians. By this I mainly refer to the negative tendencies in the formation of the image of Hungarians as a consequence of Imre Thököly's policies, slowly overriding the topos of *propugnaculum*.[6] This can be experienced in the course of the Ottoman wars and richly thematised in German-language literature.

In some respects, *Der Ungarische Kriegs-Roman* was written at the time of a historical turning point; therefore it displays an extremely multi-faceted, partly ambivalent image of Hungarians to readers. A major central

[5] "Topos" means the idiomatic and textual form of the appearance of ideas with a generally accepted meaning; at the same time, it can be placed into different contexts as well. In such contexts, topoi act as instruments for argumentation. Cf. I. Bitskey, "A nemzetsors toposzai a 17. századi magyar irodalomban" [Topoi of the national destiny in the Hungarian literature of the seventeenth century], lecture at the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, 11 October 2004, available at http://mta.hu/fileadmin/szekfoglalok/000074.pdf, accessed on 10 June 2014, 1. If such building blocks of a text are actually image-type elements, they appear serially in the same format in literary works, thereby showing some sort of "presence everywhere" and forming topoi to span over historical periods. Cf. T. Radek, *Das Ungarnbild in der deutschsprachigen Historiographie des Mittelalters* (Frankfurt 2008), 27.

[6] The topos *propugnaculum Christianitatis* refers to Hungary as a bulwark of Christendom; it started to develop intensively as Ottoman wars broke out and lasted until the late seventeenth century. Cf. J. Varga, "Europa und 'Die Vormauer des Christentums.' Die Entwicklungsgeschichte eines geflügelten Wortes," in *Ein Beitrag zur deutschen Literaturgeschichte. Europa und die Türken in der Renaissance*, ed. by B. Guthmüller and W. Kühlmann (Tübingen 2000), 55–63.

element of this overall picture is the portrayal of a "fertile Pannonia," comprising many types of elements, just like a mosaic, ranging from the praise of Hungarian wines to the appreciation of medicinal waters. A hypothesis of this study is that certain elements, such as the topos of *propugnaculum*, appear to dissolve due to historical events, whereas other topoi are more resistant to changes in history.

Accordingly, this study aims to place the topos of fertility in a historical context and to show the array of its literary variants. On the other hand, it provides a detailed analysis of the forms of appearance and elements of this topos by means of the novel mentioned above. Methods of literary and cultural science can be used for the study of topoi, whose system of definitions is suitable for analysing the literary appearances of "domestic" and "foreign" features.[7]

The historical and media history background of Hungary's reception in the early modern age

As already mentioned above, Happel's *Der Ungarische Kriegs-Roman* is focused on the description of the Ottoman wars in Hungary, a fairly eventful period. For this reason, our study is to concentrate on the first volume of the novel, discussing the Siege of Vienna in 1683 and the events leading up to it. As Happel considered the terms of the Peace of Vasvár, concluded on 10 August 1664, as disadvantageous to Hungary and the starting point of subsequent events, he went back to the 1663 Siege of Érsekújvár (Nové Zámky) in the presentation of Hungary's contemporary historical situation.[8]

[7] There is a variety of methods in literary and cultural science to describe the relationship of "domestic" and "foreign" features, particularly as reflected in the "cultural turn" of the 1990s. Although the methods of literary scientific imagology are considered to be obsolete by today, they still serve as a theoretical basis for many works discussing extraneous images. Being focused on the analysis of a literary image formed about a "foreign" culture, this study also reflects on the results of other cultural scientific methods in addition to imagology-related statements, including Reinhart Koselleck's asymmetric pairs of contrast. See R. Koselleck, *Vergangene Zukunft. Zur Semantik geschichtlicher Zeiten* (Frankfurt 1979), as well as Franz K. Stanzel's "Nationalitätenschema" theory, for example, in Stanzel, "Das Nationalitätenschema in der Literatur," in *Erstarrtes Denken. Studien zu Klischee, Stereotyp und Vorurteil in der englischsprachigen Literatur*, ed. by G. Blaicher (Tübingen 1987), 84–96.

[8] Cf. E. Zöllner, *Geschichte Österreichs* (Vienna 1966), 248.

While the Habsburg Empire gained a little time to recover as a result of the peace treaty or armistice with the Ottoman Empire, the political situation was becoming increasingly tense in the territory of the Kingdom of Hungary.[9] The Hungarian nation saw itself betrayed, ready to seek help from France, Poland and even the Ottoman Empire, considered to be an "ancient enemy to Christianity," to restore its independence.[10] In addition, approximation of the interests of the Christian and Protestant nobility was facilitated by the Counter-Reformation, controlled by the Imperial Court of Vienna, with absolutist measures and increasing commercial tensions, finally resulting in the establishment of an anti-absolutist group.[11] This faction of plotters against the emperor comprised the archbishop of Esztergom, György Lippay, and Palatine Ferenc Wesselényi, who, as the first men of the country, finally took the lead in the so-called Wesselényi conspiracy. Subsequent collaborators included Péter Zrínyi, the younger brother of Miklós Zrínyi, ban of Croatia, and Francis Rákóczi I, son of George Rákóczi II, prince of Transylvania, deceased in 1660. This uprising of the nobility aimed to bring to life an independent Kingdom of Hungary, but negotiations with the French king and the Ottoman sultan were unsuccessful. After the death of Wesselényi, Lippay and Miklós Zrínyi, Ferenc Nádasdy came to head the conspiracy, which was doomed to fail because of inadequate preparations and arrangements. Eventually, the 1670 uprising was repressed within a few weeks; Nádasdy, Ferenc Frangepán and Péter Zrínyi were sentenced to death and executed on 30 April 1671.[12] As resolved by the Imperial Court of Vienna, Counter-Reformation measures continued to be enforced with renewed effort, headed first of all by the archbishop of Esztergom, Leopold Karl von Kollonitz.[13] The number of castaways from society was on the rise as a consequence of the persecution of Protestants and other measures by the court. They formed a group of hiding rebels (the so-called *kuruc*) and fought against the so-called *labanc* troops loyal to the emperor. From 1678, *kuruc* troops were led by Emmerich Thököly, whose initial military successes were followed by a power vacuum between the Kingdom of Hungary and the Principality of Transylvania. Thököly became a power factor instrumentalised by the sultan, leading to the country falling into four parts on

[9] Zöllner, *Geschichte Österreichs*, 248–249.
[10] J. Bérenger, *Geschichte des Habsburgerreichs 1273-1918* (Vienna 1995), 366.
[11] E. Pamlényi, *Die Geschichte Ungarns* (Budapest 1971), 185.
[12] I. Gy. Tóth, *Milleniumi magyar történet* [Hungarian millennial history] (Budapest 2001), 223–224.
[13] Bérenger, *Geschichte des Habsburgerreichs*, 367.

the one hand, and to the 1683 Siege of Vienna on the other.[14] The future of the principality, established with Ottoman assistance in 1682, was easy to forecast: it ceased to exist in 1685, consequent to Habsburg-Ottoman battles in the 1680s.[15]

The historical events briefly summarised above had considerable repercussions in the contemporary German-language press and made a major contribution to the development of international opinions on the Kingdom of Hungary. This period, rich in historical events, came to feature as a central theme of a whole series of literary works, as brilliantly evidenced by Happel's *Kriegs-Roman*. Ottoman advances and conquests and the approaching Ottoman occupation implied the formation of an interested readership from as early as the 1520s, eager to receive regular reports on the events of Ottoman wars.[16] Thus, one of the consequences of an increasing stream of news was that the reception (reading and visualisation) of the latest news developed into an everyday activity and became integrated into the daily life of seventeenth-century Europeans. This heightened interest notably determined the offer, number and subject matter of writings on Hungary. Consequently, these texts demonstrated variety and diversity in terms of both form and content, in which Hungary was placed in different contexts, depicted as a bulwark of Christianity.[17] The multiplicity of texts could be properly demonstrated by a quantitative test, which examines the distribution by number and subject matter[18] of texts explicitly discussing Hungary, published between 1663 and 1689, relying on the online register of the Wolfenbüttel Herzog-August-Bibliothek and other bibliographic works, such as the fifth volume of Sándor Apponyi's

[14] G. Pálffy, "Thököly-felkelés" [The Thököly rebellion], in *Magyar Virtuális Enciklopédia* (13 September 2004), available at http://www.enc.hu/1enciklopedia/fogalmi/torttud_magy/thokoly-felkeles.hm, accessed on 10 June 2014.
[15] Pamlényi, *Die Geschichte Ungarns*, 193.
[16] N. G. Etényi, "Ungarnberichte im Spiegel des Ungarischen Simplicissimus," in *Das Ungarnbild in der deutschen Literatur der frühen Neuzeit. Der Ungarische oder Dacianische Simplicissimus im Kontext barocker Reiseerzählungen und Simpliziaden*, ed. by D. Breuer and G. Tüskés (Bern 2005), 215–252, at 224–226.
[17] G. Pálffy, *A Magyar Királyság és a Habsburg Monarchia a 16. században,* [The Kingdom of Hungary and the Habsburg Monarchy in the sixteenth century] (Budapest 2010), 221–222. Cf. the English version: *The Kingdom of Hungary and the Habsburg Monarchy in the Sixteenth Century*, trans. by T. J. DeKornfeld and H. D. DeKornfeld (Boulder, CO. 2009).
[18] Cf. *Verzeichnis der im deutschen Sprachraum erschienenen Drucke des 17. Jahrhunderts*, available at: http://www.vd17.de, accessed on 10 June 2014.

Hungarica collection[19] and the *Hungarica* volume compiled by Katalin S. Németh.[20] The database contains more than 400 texts on a wide variety of subjects from the period between 1663 and 1683. It is no wonder then that most of the texts published between 1663 and 1671 bestow increased attention on depicting acts of war, including the Siege of Érsekújvár, and the heroic deeds of historical figures such as Miklós Zrínyi. Consequently, the German-speaking public reacted rapidly and responsively to events in Hungary.[21] Following the conclusion of the Peace of Vasvár, international public interest slackened as the Ottomans did not constitute a direct threat for 20 years because of the armistice. However, the suppression of the aristocratic uprising in 1671 and the consequences of the ensuing Counter-Reformation measures had repercussions in the German-language press (primarily in the form of pamphlets), since religious conflicts between the Imperial Court of Vienna and the German Empire over Protestant believers in Europe were thus made topical following the Peace of Westphalia.[22] After this, Hungary actually dropped out of the centre of attention in the period between 1672 and 1683 (especially compared to the preceding period), and came to be revisited as an increasingly important and interesting topic only in the early 1680s, in connection with discussions on the political measures of Emmerich Thököly and the imminent Ottoman threat. The corresponding increased interest subsequently persisted as a result of the military successes of Christian troops.[23]

Eberhard Werner Happel's "war novel" undertook to present Hungary in a major period of history and media history.[24] Diversity of form and subject matter, as mentioned above, was reflected in Happel's work as a result of the compiling writing style and technique typical of the Baroque era. Just as other "professional" novelists of the age, Happel, under a com-

[19] S. Apponyi, *Hungarica. Ungarn betreffende im Auslande gedruckte Bücher und Flugschriften*, 5 vols., available at http://www.arcanum.hu/oszk/, accessed on 10 June 2014.
[20] K. S. Németh, *Ungarische Drucke und Hungarica 1480–1720. Katalog der Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel*, 3 vols. (Munich 1993).
[21] M. Wrede, *Das Reich und seine Feinde* (Mainz 2004), 92–99.
[22] J. Schumann, *Die andere Sonne: Kaiserbild und Medienstrategie im Zeitalter Leopolds I.* (Berlin 2003), 124.
[23] O. Lénárt, *Das Königreich Ungarn in der deutschsprachigen Literatur des 17. Jahrhunderts. Eberhard Werner Happels Der Ungarische Kriegs-Roman im Kontext der Ungarnbilder in der Medienlandschaft des 17. Jahrhunderts* (PhD diss., ELTE, Budapest 2013), 47–57, available at http://www.andrassyuni.eu/upload/ File/PHD/Dissertationen/LenartDissertation Bibliothek.pdf, accessed on 10 June 2014.
[24] Becker, "Happel magyar 'hadi román'-ja," 374–390.

pulsion of accomplishment, integrated a whole series of writings about Hungary in his work, without making any references in many instances. On the basis thereof, the unique achievement of the *Kriegs-Roman*—constituting a central element of this study—is perceivable as the novel can be interpreted as a collection, a summary of image elements of Hungary and the Hungarians in the early modern age in addition to serving as a reflection of press releases in the period concerned.

Historical development of the topos fertilitas Pannoniae

As elucidated above, Hungary came to be an important topic of the German-language press in the second half of the seventeenth century. Authors who undertook to write about topics concerning Hungary conceived it not only as a storehouse of exotica and specialties but also as a highly marketable topic.[25] Consequently, a quite variegated, complex and often ambivalent image of Hungary had unfolded by the late seventeenth century, whose building blocks (image-type elements) were not laudatory of the imagination of Baroque authors, but had rather gone through a historical development many times. Besides these elements, already of rich narrative traditions, Hungary's image components can be found to have evolved as a consequence of certain historical and political events.[26] By reason of this dichotomy, Hungary's images in the early modern age display a broad thematic spectrum. Quoting József Turóczi-Trostler, "Images of Hungary and the Hungarians, sometimes repulsively distorted, other times evoking sympathy, […] devolved as a heritage from the fifteenth century to the sixteenth century; they grew rich in colours and details in the seventeenth century and made their appearance in a fully accomplished form."[27] This multi-coloured mosaic, rich in details, is gracefully unravelled in Happel's work, with particular regard to the piece of the mosaic including components of the topos *fertilitas Pannoniae*.,

Perhaps one of the most vivid examples of Hungary's images with a rich narrative tradition is Hungary represented as *fertilitas Pannoniae*

[25] J. Turóczi-Trostler, *Magyar elemek a XVII. század német irodalmában* [Hungarian elements in the German literature of the seventeenth century] (Temesvár 1914), 10.
[26] A. F. Balogh, "Nachwirkungen von Motiven und Topoi der älteren deutschen Literatur im Ungarischen Simplicissimus des Georg Daniel Speer," in *Das Ungarnbild in der frühen Neuzeit*, 95–110, at 95.
[27] Turóczi-Trostler, *Magyar elemek*, 4.

("fertile Pannonia"). The topos is rooted in antiquity.[28] In the course of its long history—while it could be conceived as a requisite of a milieu remaining nearly unchanged—it assumed a great number of forms of appearance and underwent numerous alterations, owing to increasing interest in Hungary: it was enriched by data from historical and geographical compilations, and became more colourful through the enhancement of a "background of adventures." However, the basics remained the same as the Hungarian land—rich in gold and other minerals—and Tokaji wines enraptured the imagination of both readers and their audiences in all ages.[29] The work entitled *Etymologiarium libri XX* by Isidorus Hispalensis, an author in late antiquity and the early medieval age, serves as a good example of the variety of elements and uses of this topos: by way of a naïve etymological analysis, it is traced back the name of *Pannonia*, to the Latin word *pan*. This particular reasoning by Hispalensis greatly contributed to the fact that the use of the topos *fertilitas Pannoniae* became widespread: it already appeared as a rhetorical device in the writings of Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini.[30]

Hungary's defeat at Mohács brought about a turning point in the life of the topos: the fertility of the country was presented more and more frequently together with the topos *propugnaculum Christianitatis* (bulwark of Christianity). Descriptions of Hungary as an earthly paradise, impoverished and depopulated as a consequence of Ottoman struggles,[31] provided propitious opportunities for the dramatic rendering of the losses suffered. Therefore, the Battle of Mohács and ensuing losses[32] greatly contributed to the spread of this topos, both in Hungary and abroad.[33] In order to represent a loss of such value, authors used various elements of their rhetorical instruments, as a result of which a description of the topos could be developed according to a specific scheme, involving the use of well-defined

[28] M. Imre, *"Magyarország Panasza." A Querela Hungariae toposz a XVI-XVII. század irodalmában* ["Complaint of Hungary" – The Querela Hungariae topos in the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century literature] (Debrecen 1995), 223.
[29] Turóczi-Trostler, *Magyar elemek*, 9.
[30] Imre, *"Magyarország Panasza,"* 223.
[31] Zs. Nádor, "Das Ungarnbild in der niederländischen Literatur der frühen Neuzeit," in *Das Ungarnbild in der frühen Neuzeit*, 77–93, at 80.
[32] It should be mentioned here that the defeat at Mohács entailed severe economic consequences which intensified the feeling of loss depicted above. Hungary lost major agricultural areas with the Ottoman expansion. Exports of agricultural products were also stalling, so export-dependent regions had the bitter experience of the consequences of struggles with the Ottomans. Cf. Pálffy, *A Magyar Királyság*, 218.
[33] Balogh, "Nachwirkungen," 107.

components. Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini, Johannes Cuspinianus, Miklós Oláh and others enumerated similar elements by describing the richness of Hungarian soil, fine wines, and an abundance of foodstuffs and mineral treasures,[34] thus creating a narrative tradition reflected in the works of seventeenth-century authors by the use of the dictum *Extra Pannonia non est vita, et si est, non est ita*.[35] Let us just simply the writings by Erasmus Francisci (alias Christian Minsicht), Martin Zeiller or Daniel Speer to illustrate the multiplicity of the topos *fertilitas Pannoniae*, or, even more importantly for our purposes, Eberhard Werner Happel.

Descriptions of Hungary's fertility in E. W. Happel's "War Novel"

My analysis is therefore aimed at presenting the structural diversity in Happel's "war novel," in the course of which the forms of appearance of the natural and vital elements of the topos (e.g. soil, wines, mineral and medicinal waters) will be examined.[36] Happel devotes the greatest attention to illustrations of Hungary in the first part of his work of several volumes. Hungary is first described by one of Happel's heroes in the novel, Michael Claudi, of Saxon origin, who was actually one of Thököly's men but colluded with the Imperials.[37] He does not conceal his negative opinion, but he still praises Hungary's riches: "This country is more fertile than any other on this earth; this is why the saying goes like this around here: *Extra Pannoniam non est vita, aut si est vita, non est commoda vita*."[38] After this, Happel devotes several subchapters to praising Hungary's fertility. As early as at the very beginning of the description, the author uses a characteristic image-type element, first praising Hungarian wines, followed by an introduction to the geographical location of the Kingdom of Hungary: "There are much more mountains in Upper Hungary / most of which are fairly fertile / and which produce magnificent wines almost continuously / which are similar to Spanish wines in vigour. Still, Tokaji wines are the

[34] Pálffy, *A Magyar Királyság*, 187.
[35] A. Tarnai, *Extra Hungariam non est vita… (Egy szállóige történetéhez)* [Extra Hungariam non est vita… History of a Dictum] (Budapest 1969), 7.
[36] Imre, *"Magyarország Panasza,"* 224.
[37] B. Köpeczi, *"Magyarország a kereszténység ellensége." A Thököly-felkelés az európai közvéleményben,* ["Hungary as a foe of Christianity." The Thököly rebellion in the European public opinion] (Budapest 1976), 309.
[38] "Das Land ist so fruchtbar / als keines in der Welt / daher sagt man dieses Orts auch: Extra Pannoniam non est vita, aut si est vita, non est commoda vita." E. W. Happel, *Der Ungarische Kriegs-Roman*, vol. 1 (Ulm 1685), 280.

most valuable of all."[39] It is no wonder that the appraisal of Hungarian wines plays an important part in descriptions of Hungary, since wine—as one of the most important commodities—was widely available in society. This is also supported by the fact that the average wine consumption of the age amounted to about 300 litres per capita per annum.[40] Although Hungarian wines, particularly Tokaji wines, played a central role in the wine trade throughout the continent, the fact that they became widely known and favoured can be attributed to Lazarus von Schwendi, the police chief of Kassa (Košice). In fact, he was the one to introduce Tokaji varietals to Alsace (Tokaj d'Alsace) and ensured that Tokaji wine was always on his table; he was allowed to have 1020 litres of wine a year transported to his homeland for his own use.[41]

The significance and role of Tokaji wines in the period can also be illustrated by further textual examples. In the third volume of the "war novel," one of the protagonists was wounded after arriving in Hungary. His loyal subject, Polcopo, brought the vintage to his lord's attention with the following words: "My Lord, take this wine: though not too strong, / it will do good to your wounds."[42] Medicinal power was also attributed to this famous Hungarian wine. In addition, Tokaji wine had a role to play in the fourth volume of the novel. When Alonso and Cergely arrived in Transylvania along with the Imperials, they had an incident with the disguised Emmerich Thököly and his wife, Ilona Zrínyi, at Munkács (Mukachevo). While Cergely returned to the camp after talking to Thököly, Alonso was entertained by Ilona Zrínyi in the castle of Mukachevo and treated to some Tokaji wine, along with several dainty dishes. As the historian Béla Köpeczi has remarked, "Happel is not sparing of praise for Hungarian wines."[43] Tokaji wine, symbolising Hungary's richness at various levels, thus occurs in different semantic variants and constitutes a central part of the topos of fertility thematised by Happel.

Another exciting element of the topos discussed is the multi-coloured representation of the Carpathian Mountains, which is even comparable to

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[39] "hat man in Ober-Ungarn desto mehr Berge / welche noch meistentheils ziemlich fruchtbar sind / und fast durchgehends einen herrlichen Wein / der den Spanischen an Hitze und Krafft gleichet / herfür bringen / doch behält der Tockayer-Wein den Preiß unter allen." Happel, *Der Ungarische Kriegs-Roman*, 1:403.

[40] P. Lahnstein, *Das Leben im Barock* (Stuttgart 1997), 197.

[41] Pálffy, *A Magyar Királyság*, 223–224 and 235.

[42] "Mein gnädiger Herr / sehet da einen sehr raren Wein / der nicht zu hitzig / und also für eure Wunde sehr gut ist." Happel, *Der Ungarische Kriegs-Roman*, 3:216.

[43] Köpeczi, *Magyarország*, 311.

the Swiss Alps in terms of height, of course with a little bit of Baroque exaggeration: "The Carpathian Mountains are very high / its highest peaks are visited by only those who dare to be curious / since its peaks soar higher / than those of the Swiss Alps."[44] This description by David Frölich, a mathematician in the Szepes region, developed into some sort of a narrative tradition by the late seventeenth century and represented an important element of picturing fertile Hungary.[45] This characterisation can actually be interpreted as a comparison and contraposition of "domestic" and "foreign" features, where the "foreign" landscape and culture are depicted as dangerous, on the one hand, and exotic, on the other hand.

Thus we see that in comparisons of foreign and domestic features, foreign features "are the winners." This is what happens in descriptions of natural riches in the Hungarian forests and meadows as well: fertile lands, "if cultivated, / yield abundant produce to farmers."[46] The fact that Hungary was rife with agricultural products (meat, fish, fruits and vegetables), is mentioned by Happel at several points, and summarised in the following sentence: "as I already explained, there are large quantities / of bread and wine here, / just like meat and fish; / what else could you wish to have to eat?"[47] The authenticity of this description can be verified by economic history as well. As also remarked upon by Happel, "many fair bullocks were brought" from Hungarian lands.[48] The number of cattle exported to Western Europe—primarily to Austrian and German regions—was about 100,000 per annum, and approximately 40,000 a year were transported to Italy. Consequently, Hungary became one of the major exporters of meat, leather and wool in the seventeenth century and the creamery of the monarchy.[49]

The next component of the topos of *fertilitas* presented emphatically by Happel is the description of Hungary's waters (rivers, lakes, thermal waters and spas). Images of rivers abounding in fish already magnify the

[44] "Das Carpatische Gebürge ist sehr hoch / und dessen höchste Spitzen werden nur von Curieusen Leuthen besichtiget und bestiegen / dann sie steigen viel höher / als die Schweitzer-Alpen in die Lufft." Happel, *Der Ungarische Kriegs-Roman*, 1:403.

[45] D. Speer, *Magyar Simplicissimus* [Hungarian Simplicissimus], ed. by J. Turóczy-Trostler (Budapest 1956), 82.

[46] "geben dem Bauersmann / wann sie gebauet werden / eine reiche Erndte," Happel, *Der Ungarische Kriegs-Roman*, 1:403.

[47] "deß Brodts und Weins / wie auch Fleisches und Fischen hat man hier / wie gesagt / die Menge / was will man zur Nahrung mehr?" Ibid., 1:405.

[48] "viel schöne Ochsen von dannen gebracht werden." Ibid. 1:404.

[49] Pálffy, *A Magyar Királyság*, 221–222.

productivity and wealth of the country. For instance, Happel describes the Tisza River as follows: "one third of this water course was composed of fish."[50] In addition, he also refers to the fact that Hungary's rivers are considered to be dangerous because of whirlpools. Therefore Hungary's rivers, including the Danube—intended to be depicted by Happel as comparable to the River Nile—represent the savagery and perilousness and at the same time still exotic character of the Hungarian landscape. Medicinal waters—"healthy, mineral waters and other special wells"[51]—play an important part in descriptions of Hungary's fertility. Although the spa culture in Hungary was implanted by the Ottomans, authors in the early modern age appeared to take little notice of this. In any case, Happel does not make mention these interconnections, he only appreciates "the pleasantly warm spas […] and springs" of Buda, centre of the spa culture of the age, "where the water is hot on the surface / but there are many types of tasty fish living in the depth."[52] The presence of thermal waters and medicinal spas was recorded as a positive element, a kind of specialty by writers and travellers of the age.[53]

The fact that Hungary became an exotic country and destination during the Ottoman wars, particularly after 1526,[54] is partly attributable to the availability of various mineral resources and precious metals. Happel also paid special attention to the presentation of mining towns in Upper Hungary, including Selmecbánya (Banska Štiavnica) and Körmöcbánya (Kremnica), where "the richest and oldest gold mine"[55] was to be found, and whose dimensions vied with Egyptian pyramids. It should be noted here that this was the second time that Happel brought up Egypt in connection with Hungary. The author paid particular attention to the presentation of Besztercebánya (Banska Bystrica) as "the best copper mine."[56] Explanations of economic history can be found again in the background of Happel's enthusiasm for mining towns and mining in Hungary: the mining of precious metals was one of the "drivers" of the Hungarian economy of the

[50] "der Dritte Theil desselben Wassers […] in Fischen," Happel, *Der Ungarische Kriegs-Roman*, 1:404.
[51] "Gesund-, Saur- und andere hoch-seltzame Brunnen," ibid., 1:406.
[52] "Brunnquell / die oben auf sied=heisses Wasser / und auff dem Grunde ein gute Menge schmackhaffter Fische hat." Ibid., 1:400.
[53] I. M. Battafarano, "Berichtetes und erzähltes Ungarn im 17. Jahrhundert," in *Das Ungarnbild in der frühen Neuzeit*, 13–53, at 19–24.
[54] Nádor, "Das Ungarnbild," 78.
[55] "reichste und älteste Gold-Grube," Happel, *Der Ungarische Kriegs-Roman*, 1:408.
[56] "das beste Kupfferwerck," ibid., 1:411.

age. The repute of metal ores from Hungarian mines—such as the copper of Besztercebánya, for instance—reached as far as Venice, Gdańsk, Hamburg and Antwerp.[57] Hence the nearly romantic depiction of Hungary as a country abounding in precious metals is not only an image transmitted by a narrative tradition but a fact of economic history.

The description of mining towns in Upper Hungary is concluded by a short rhyme, also to be interpreted as the essence of the topos of fertility: "I used to be iron: I am copper now: I wear silver: I am covered with gold."[58] These few verses were probably engraved on the drinking cup of a nobleman at Úrvölgy (Spania Dolina, Herrengrund), as this area was known for its copper mining industry. Copper mining and copper working at Úrvölgy date back to the eleventh through thirteenth centuries. Numerous objects were made of copper, coated partly with silver, partly with gold. Copper objects found at Úrvölgy included platters and goblets, which were usually engraved.[59] The rhyme cited above illustrates the tradition of copper ore production in the area, on the one hand, and it is an excellent representation of the natural riches in the Kingdom of Hungary of the age, on the other.[60]

Closely related to the descriptions of mines, is the depiction of a special phenomenon to which Happel devoted a separate chapter, entitled "Gold grows in Hungary."[61] By presenting the phenomenon of *aurum vegatibile*, Happel displays a special form of the topos *fertilitas*. As a result, the extolment of Pannonia's fertility nearly went to extremes. Happel corroborates the exotic nature of the phenomenon by publishing several—partly or entirely—fictitious stories. Here again, guidance is provided by a foreign text source: a description by Martin Heinrich von Franckenstein, relating that Count Walpataky's gardener found a vine stock containing gold in the count's vineyard: "suddenly he notices / that it sticks out of the ground / he strikes a blow at it […] and finally he manages to break off a big piece. […] As subsequently informed by a goldsmith / this piece is of the purest gold possible."[62] Based on Franckenstein's story, Happel musters further

[57] Pálffy, *A Magyar Királyság*, 224.
[58] "Eysen war ich: Kupffer bin ich: Silber trag ich: Gold bedeckt mich," Happel, *Der Ungarische Kriegs-Roman*, 1:413.
[59] S. Huber and P. Huber, *Vom Wunder der Herrengrunder Kupfergefäße*, available at http://www.mineral.at/herrengr.htm, accessed on 10 June 2014.
[60] R. Slotta, "Meisterwerke bergbaulicher Kunst und Kultur," *Der Anschnitt* 57 (2005), available at http://www.vfkk.de/info105.html, accessed on 10 June 2014.
[61] "In Ungarn wächset das Gold," Happel, *Der Ungarische Kriegs-Roman*, 1:413.
[62] "mercket er [der Gärtner] / daß es tieff in der Erden eingewurtzelt / schlägt demnach mit einem Kraft daran […] bricht er endlich […] einen ziemlichen Zahn

examples to evidence the existence of gold-bearing vines. There are (fictitious) stories about Sigismund Rákóczi, who found grape seeds of pure gold near his castle in the vicinity of Tokaj; about László Kemény, who struck gold-bearing vines in the Zemplén Mountains; or about Ferenc Rédei (Rhédey), who gave a piece of gold as a present to Johan Patterson Hain,[63] physician at Eperjes (Prešov), which was "soft and fatty / just like butter."[64] Although various precious metals could be found in large quantities in mines within the Kingdom of Hungary, even the truthfulness of the other details of the stories listed above are questionable; actually no phenomenon similar to the above was registered in Hungary. The descriptions published by Happel can be expressly disproven in the light of historical facts. It is just sufficient to consider that Rákóczi had already passed away in the year 1651, mentioned in the text, or that the Kemény family had no estates in the Zemplén Mountains. In addition, the family had no member named László around the year 1670, and the family was granted a title of nobility only in 1744.[65] However, this analysis is not aimed at discussing the truthfulness, factual or fictitious character of such descriptions. By integrating the stories of *aurum vegatibile*, Happel exhibited a new element of the topos *fertilitas*, thus enriching the mosaic of Hungary's images.

Conclusion

In summary, Happel's *Der Ungarische Kriegs-Roman* properly fits in the line of seventeenth-century works, which undertook to provide more detailed descriptions of Hungary. I may say, this "fitting in" was so successful that Happel took over and amalgamated parts of descriptions defined by the narrative tradition mainly from these other works. Let us just think about Martin Zeiller, from whose work entitled *Neue Bescheibung des Königreichs Ungarn* Happel borrowed complete sentences to present the fertility of Hungarian soil. As demonstrated by the second chapter of this study, Happel had a number of texts available on Hungary (travelogues,

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davon / welchen er einem Gold-Schmiede zeiget / und von demselben die erfreuliche Zeytung erhält / das es das reinste und feinste Gold sey," ibid., 1:414.

[63] G. Horváth, "Az aranytermő szőlők meséje," [Tale about the Golden Grape] in *Természettudományi Közlöny* 314 (1895), 505–514, at 508, available at http://epa.oszk.hu/02100/02181/00314/pdf/EPA02181_Termeszettudomanyi_kozlony_1895_505-514.pdf, accessed on 10 June 2014.

[64] "weich und fett / als Butter," Happel, *Der Ungarische Kriegs-Roman*, 1:414.

[65] Zs. Kornya, "Az aranytermő szőlő. Kiadatlan tanulmány" [The Golden Grape. Unpublished Essay], *member.rpg.hu* (2000), available at http://member.rpg.hu/renier/mutat.php?id=161, accessed on 10 June 2014.

chronicles, pamphlets) to be able to write his novel on Hungary. In this respect, he was definitely assisted by the fact that various background materials were available in large quantities in Hamburg (e.g. in the Library of Hamburg, where Happel cultivated a particularly befitting relationship with librarian David Schellhammer),[66] and that the writer had the opportunity to master the basics of the compiling writing style in co-operation with his publisher in Hamburg, Thomas von Wiering.[67]

Since Happel had a vast number of works to serve as models, his descriptions easily complied with the rhetorical criteria of the topos of "fertility." Just like his predecessors, Happel also appreciated Hungarian wines and listed the produce available in large quantities in the country. He laid particular emphasis on the availability of mineral resources and precious metals, which was further increased by the thematisation of the tale of the gold-bearing vine stock. Although most descriptions of Hungary can be found in the first half of volume one, the topos *fertilitas* occurs in several other instances as well, such as in the description of Transylvania, consciously placed by Happel in the second half of volume one, which presents the various parts of the Ottoman Empire, including subjugated countries and regions. At the same time, although the presentation of Transylvania is definitely separated, it still forms part of the description of the Kingdom of Hungary. A description of the prince's riches actually follows the same pattern as in the case of Hungary: the air is clean, the soil is rich in gold and silver, and "there is an abundance of field produce as well."[68] Transylvanian wines were also worth mentioning in the description as they were "better / than many others […] in Christian Europe, / of course, if Rhine wines and Hungarian wines are not taken into account."[69] As regards Transylvania, rivers and forests are also worth mentioning, as they produce many kinds of fish, meat, honey and medicinal plants.

In conclusion, it can be stated that Happel's description of Hungary was extended by a few new elements compared to previous works, with old patterns recurring, which for the most part had changed little in the course of time. Just like sixteenth-century writers, such as Oláh, Happel attempt-

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[66] W. Kayser, *500 Jahre wissenschaftliche Bibliothek Hamburg 1479–1979. Von der Ratsbücherei zur Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek* (Hamburg 1979), 48.

[67] Von Wiering republished many journals in the chronicle *Kern-Chronica der merckwürdigsten Welt- und Wunder-Geschichte*. Cf. Schock, *Die Text-Kunstkammer*, 56.

[68] "Erd-Früchten ist ein grosser Überfluss," Happel, *Der Ungarische Kriegs-Roman*, 1:702.

[69] "besser […] als einiger in der Christenheit / wann ich den Rheinischen und Ungarischen außnehme," ibid., 1:703.

ed to paint a picture of fertile Hungary by including identical elements. As can be read in the first lines of the chapter on Hungary, Happel aimed to contrast the riches of the country with the losses suffered in the Ottoman wars in a suggestive manner, in addition to satisfying readers' demands for exotica and curiosities:

> A true Christian has a cogent reason to shed tears rather than ink drops while describing this noble kingdom of yore; not so much for major changes […] but because of the fact that it had to nurture and foster numberless venomous snakes on its plenteous bosom.[70]

[70] "Ein rechtschaffener Christ hat grosser Ursach in Beschreibung dieses weyland so edlen Königreichs mehr Thränen als Dinten fließen zu lassen: nicht zwar so sehr wegen der großen Veränderungen […] sondern darum, weil es in seinem fruchtbaren Busen einen großen Hauffen giftiger Schlangen ernährten und unterhalten muss." Cf. ibid., 1:399.

FORMS AND FUNCTIONS OF THE IMAGE OF HUNGARY IN POLAND-LITHUANIA

SZYMON BRZEZIŃSKI

Polish–Hungarian relations are a well-established area of research, and their history in the early modern period has mostly been viewed through the perspective of historical, social, economic and cultural similarities. This point of view, which is generally justified, has also influenced the study of the image of Hungarians in Polish public opinion. One reason for this is the role of a widely known stereotype of "eternal" friendship and brotherhood, which—while based on earlier tradition—became commonplace no sooner than in the late eighteenth century. The aim of this study is to give an overview of the image of Hungarians and Hungary in Poland-Lithuania from the mid-sixteenth century to the second half of the seventeenth century, i.e. to the end of Ottoman rule in Hungary. It will sum up the results of scattered and internationally lesser-known scholarship, but also complete it with new factors and sources, which have not been taken into consideration in this context.

Two general approaches can be observed in the scholarship on the image of Hungarians in early modern Polish opinion. The first one is a study of political and cultural discourses and the history of *topoi*, so far chiefly based on literary texts and to some extent on popular political writings. Among the main authors are the literary historians Lajos Hopp and Jan Ślaski with their studies of Polish–Hungarian cultural relations, their main *topos* as "bulwark" *(antemurale)* nations and the "similarity"/"alliance" of both countries throughout history *(conformitas)*.[1] Janusz Tazbir and Stanisław

[1] L. Hopp, *Az "antemurale" és "conformitas" humanista eszméje a magyar-lengyel hagyományban* [The humanist idea of "antemurale" and "conformitas" in the Hungarian–Polish tradition] (Budapest 1992); L. Hopp and J. Ślaski, *A magyar–lengyel múltszemlélet előzményei. Politikai és kulturális hagyományok Báthory Istvánig* [Antecedents of the Hungarian–Polish view of the past. Political and cultural traditions until the age of Stephen Báthory] (Budapest 1992); cf. L. Hopp, "Les principes de l' 'antemurale' et la 'conformitas' dans le tradition hungaro-polonaise avant Báthori," *Acta Litteraria Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 31,

Grzybowski, who used political literature and journalism more extensively,[2] investigated the issues from a somewhat different perspective. The second approach concentrated on studying national stereotypes in the context of the shaping of Polish identity and only marginally involved the problem of stereotypes of Hungarians. Beginning with the pre-war studies of Jan Stanisław Bystroń, this trend was continued by Janusz Tazbir and other authors, who developed a model of "the rise of Polish xenophobia" in seventeenth to eighteenth century, contrasted with the more tolerant sixteenth century.[3] Another notion of the Polish research on stereotypes derives from Stanisław Kot, who traced the origins of popular prejudices about other nations from the Middle Ages to the seventeenth century.[4]

1–2 (1989), 125–140. Hopp published extensively on this subject; for a bibliography of his work on Polish-Hungarian relations and its characteristics, see: S. Brzeziński, "A 16.–17. századi lengyel-magyar kapcsolatok Hopp Lajos munkásságában" [Polish-Hungarian relations of the 16th and 17th centuries in the research of Lajos Hopp], *Barokk. Történelem–Irodalom–Művészet*, special issue (2010), 319–327.

[2] J. Tazbir, "Węgry jako symbol i przestroga w literaturze staropolskiej" [Hungary as a symbol and warning in the old Polish literature], in *Prace wybrane*, vol. 3 (Cracow 2001), 433–453 (quotes older literature), first pub. in *Odrodzenie i Reformacja w Polsce* 36 (1992), 147–161; S. Grzybowski, "Opinie szlachty polskiej o antyhabsburskich powstaniach na Węgrzech" [The opinion of the Polish nobility on the anti-Habsburg uprisings in Hungary], in *Polska i Węgry w kulturze i cywilizacji europejskiej*, ed. by J. Wyrozumski (Cracow 1997), 83–122. Cf. J. Leszczyński, "The Part Played by the Countries of the Crown of St. Wenceslaus and by Hungary in the Freedom Ideology of the Polish Gentry (1572–1648)," *Otázky dějin střední a východní Evropy. Europae Centralis atque Orientalis Studia Historica* 2 (1975), 25–64.

[3] J. S. Bystroń, *Megalomania narodowa* [The national megalomania] (Warsaw 1935, 2nd ed. 1995); J. Tazbir, "Stosunek do obcych w dobie baroku" [The attitude towards the Other in the age of Baroque], in *Swojskość i cudzoziemszczyzna w dziejach kultury polskiej*, ed. by Z. Stefanowska (Warsaw 1973), 80–112; id., "Ksenofobia w Polsce XVI i XVII wieku" [Xenophobia in Poland in the 16th and 17th century], in *Arianie i katolicy* (Warsaw 1971), 238–278, pub. also as "Początki polskiej ksenofobii" [The beginnings of Polish xenophobia], in *Prace wybrane* 3:367–406; A. Wyczański, "Uwagi o ksenofobii w Polsce XVI wieku" [Remarks on xenophobia in Poland in the 16th century], in *Swojskość*, 68–79.

[4] S. Kot, "Old International Insults and Praises," *Harvard Slavic Studies* 2 (1954), 181–209; id., "Nationum Proprietates," *Oxford Slavonic Papers* 6 (1955), 1–43, and vol. 7 (1957), 99–117; id., "Descriptio gentium di poeti polacchi del secolo XVII," *Ricerche Slavistiche* 6 (1958), 150–184, Polish ed.: *Polska złotego wieku a Europa. Studia i szkice* [Poland in the golden age and Europe. Studies and outlines], ed. by H. Barycz (Warsaw 1987).

More recently, the historical research on Polish and Eastern European stereotypes has been more widely developed. A renewed interest in stereotypes as well as in ethnic minorities and historical relations between the neighbouring nations of Central and Eastern Europe emerged after 1989.[5] Scholars of the early modern period refer to divisions between the "familiar" and the "Other" in Poland-Lithuania.[6] On the other hand, a textual approach is presented by linguists, as in the studies of Aleksandra Niewiara, which, however, lack a larger historical context.[7] With the single exception among the aforementioned studies, Polish historical research into stereotypes shows only minor interest in the image of Hungarians and does not focus on it as a separate subject. This can be observed especially in comparison with the more advanced studies on the images of other nations and countries, with a dominance of studies about the image of "Muscovites," Germans, "Turks," Italians and Jews, but also some scholarship on the images of Spaniards, Czechs and Vlachs.[8] Main exceptions are studies

[5] Cf. e.g. the volumes: *Stereotypes and Nations*, ed. by T. Walas (Cracow 1995); *Historische Stereotypenforschung. Methodische Überlegungen und empirische Befunde*, ed. by H. H. Hahn (Oldenburg 1995).

[6] *Kultura polityczna w Polsce* [Political culture in Poland], vol. 4, *Swoi i obcy* [Familiars and strangers], pt. 1, ed. by M. Kosman (Poznań 2004); *Staropolski ogląd świata* [The old Polish view of the world], ed. by B. Rok and F. Wolański (Wrocław 2004); *Staropolski ogląd świata. Rzeczpospolita między okcydentalizmem a orientalizacją* [The old Polish view of the world. The Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth between Occidentalism and Orientalisation], vol. 1, *Przestrzeń kontaktów* [Space of contacts], ed. by F. Wolański and R. Kołodziej (Toruń 2009); *Staropolski ogląd świata. Tożsamość i odmienność* [Old-Polish view of the world. Identity and otherness], ed. by B. Rok and F. Wolański (Toruń 2011).

[7] A. Niewiara, *Wyobrażenia o narodach w pamiętnikach i dziennikach z XVI–XIX wieku* [Representations of nations in memoirs and diaries from the 16th to 19th century] (Katowice 2000); eadem, "Inni w oczach 'wojowników sarmackich'—o stereotypie narodowości w XVII wieku" [The Other in the eyes of the "Sarmatian warriors"—about the stereotype of nationality in the 17th century], in *Stereotyp jako przedmiot lingwistyki. Teoria, metodologia, analizy empiryczne*, ed. by J. Anusiewicz and J. Bartmiński (Wrocław 1998), 171–184.

[8] Some works without an attempt at a full list: K. Maliszewski, *Komunikacja społeczna w kulturze staropolskiej. Studia z dziejów kształtowania się form i treści społecznego przekazu w Rzeczypospolitej szlacheckiej* [Social communication in Polish culture. Studies on the history of the forms and content of social transfer in the Commonwealth] (Toruń 2001); A. Niewiara, *Moskwicin—Moskal—Rosjanin w dokumentach prywatnych. Portret* [Muscovite—"Moskal"—Russian in private documents. A portrait] (Łódź 2006); eadem, "'The Dear Neighbour,' that 'Vicious Murderer': Imagining 'the Turk' in Polish Language and Culture," in *Imagining 'the Turk,'* ed. by B. Jezernik (Newcastle upon Tyne 2010), 149–165; J. Tazbir,

in the field of the comparative history of Polish and Hungarian literature and literary relations, which rather accidentally focused on "historical imagology" in a more comprehensive form.[9] Recently, the image of Hungarians in early modern Poland was also a matter of a more detailed study by Noémi Petneki.[10]

"Obraz Żyda w opinii polskiej XVI–XVIII w." [The image of the Jew in Polish opinion, from the 16th to 18th century], in *Mity i stereotypy w dziejach Polski*, ed. by J. Tazbir (Warsaw 1991), 63–98; P. Tafiłowski, *Imago Turci. Studium z dziejów komunikacji społecznej w dawnej Polsce (1453–1572)* [Imago Turci. A study on the social communication in Poland, 1453–1572] (Lublin 2013); H. Barycz, "Italofilia e italofobia nella Polonia del Cinque e del Seicento," in *Italia, Venezia e Polonia tra umanesimo a rinascimento*, ed. by M. Brahmer (Wrocław 1967), 142–148; W. Tygielski, *Włosi w Polsce XVI–XVII wieku. Utracona szansa na modernizację* [Italians in 16th- and 17th-century Poland. A lost chance for modernisation] (Warsaw 2005); A. Kucharski, *Hiszpania i Hiszpanie w relacjach Polaków. Wrażenia z podróży i pobytu od XVI do początków XIX wieku* [Spain and Spaniards in reports of Poles. Impressions of travel and stay from 16th until the beginning of the 19th century] (Warsaw 2007); *Polaków i Czechów wizerunek wzajemny (X—XVII w.)*[A mutual image of Poles and Czechs, from the 10th to 17th century], ed. by W. Iwańczak and R. Gładkiewicz (Wrocław–Warsaw 2004); J. Porawska, "Stereotypy językowe jako przyczynek do badania stosunków polsko-rumuńskich. Językowo-kulturowy obraz Wołochów i Wołoszczyzny w języku polskim" [Lingual stereotypes as a contribution to the research of Polish-Romanian relations. A lingual-cultural image of Vlachs and Wallachia in the Polish language], in *Kontakty polsko–rumuńskie na przestrzeni wieków. Materiały z sympozjum*, ed. by S. Iachimovschi and E. Wieruszewska (Suceava 2001), 166–179; cf. I. Kąkolewski, *Melancholia władzy. Problem tyranii w europejskiej kulturze politycznej XVI stulecia* [The melancholy of power. The problem of tyranny in the European political culture of the 16th century] (Warsaw 2007), 252–285. Also literature cited above, fns. 5, 6.

[9] J. Ślaski, "Literatura staropolska a literatura starowęgierska" [Old Polish and old Hungarian literature], in *Literatura staropolska w kontekście europejskim (związki i analogie)*, ed. by T. Michałowska and J. Ślaski (Wrocław 1977), 169–199; on bibliographical data, cf. N. Petneki, "A reneszánsz kori lengyel-magyar kapcsolatok kutatástörténete (vázlatos attekintés)" [A history of research on Polish–Hungarian relations in the Renaissance. An overview], *Limes. Tudományos Szemle* 20, 1 (2007), 23–28.

[10] Her unpublished dissertation: N. Petneki, *Węgry i Węgrzy w poezji polskiej XVI–XVII w.* [Hungary and Hungarians in 16th- and 17th-century Polish poetry] (PhD diss., Jagiellonian University of Cracow, 2007), Dokt. 2008/005. I would like to express my gratitude to the author for providing the manuscript. Cf. eadem, "Wacław Potocki és a magyarok" [Wacław Potocki and Hungarians], *Barokk. Történelem–irodalom–művészet*, special issue (2010), 91–107.

For the present study, I chose the functional perspective of stereotype. It seems appropriate to trace the roles of the images evoked in the texts, and also helps to realize their contextual variability and close relation to the empirical. The image of the other—a more general construct, which contains both "inherited" stereotypes and opinions derived from one's own observation—is constantly renewed and updated. It contains stereotypical, more fixed, as well as new elements. Moreover, some of these elements can seem contrary and can be used according to certain aims and contexts.[11] I tend to describe images then not merely as a part of the knowledge about the world, but in their pragmatic role in the discourse. My aim is not to gather as many individual opinions as possible, but to show main tendencies in representation of Hungary and Hungarians. Images of the "Other" can be reasonably studied with a focus on identity, as they are two- or many-sided: they can inform one at least to the same extent about the authors and their community as the imagined one.[12]

A note on representations and identities

A basic question the researcher of stereotypes and representations has to face is: What was the object to which the opinions referred? In other words, what was the described group? Sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Polish texts almost unanimously used the word "Hungarians" when referring to inhabitants of the Kingdom of Hungary, meaning its territory from the times before the Ottoman conquest as well.[13] This remained valid

[11] Cf. the paper of Nóra G. Eténi in this volume; see also: I. Bitskey, "Militia et littera. Volkscharakterologische Ungarn-Topoi in der frühen Neuzeit," in *Das Ungarnbild in der deutschen Literatur der frühen Neuzeit: Der Ungarische oder Dacianische Simplicissimus im Kontext barocker Reiseerzählungen und Simpliziaden*, ed. by D. Breuer and G. Tüskés (Bern 2005), 111–124; for general problems of research on stereotypes, see Z. Bokszański, *Stereotypy a kultura* [Stereotypes and culture] (Wrocław 2001).

[12] Cf. J. Leerssen, "Introduction," in *Imagology: The Cultural Construction and Literary Representation of National Characters: A Critical Survey*, ed. by M. Beller and J. Leerssen (Amsterdam–New York 2007), 28.

[13] On early modern identities in the Carpathian Basin, see I. Bitskey, *Lebensgemeinschaft und nationale Identität. Beiträge der frühneuzeitlichen Kulturgeschichte Ungarns im mitteleuropäischen Kontext* (Vienna 2007); *Whose Love of Which Country? Composite States, National Histories and Patriotic Discourses in Early Modern East Central Europe*, ed. by B. Trencsényi and M. Zászkaliczky (Leiden–Boston 2010); T. Klaniczay, "Die Benennungen 'Hungaria' und 'Pannonia' als Mittel der Identitätssuche der Ungarn," in *Antike Rezeption und*

also concerning non-Hungarian speakers, such as Slovaks or Carpathian Ruthenes.[14] Up to the second half of the eighteenth century the name "Slovak" did not appear in the Polish literature.[15] From the Polish perspective, other nations, both in the Kingdom of Hungary and in the Principality of Transylvania, were characterized in accordance with the set of features attributed to Hungarians, understood not ethnically, but as a political, acting community.[16] Thus, the leaders of these political communities—Hungarian and Transylvanian—were commonly identified as Hungarians, the princes of Transylvania as well. This can be explained largely by the fact—as illustrated by the examples to follow—that the image of the Hungarians in Poland was largely based on an image of nobility and soldiers. Consequently, the division of Hungary—of which the authors were obviously aware—frequently did not seem to play a crucial role in identifying the country and its inhabitants: the borderland both with Habsburg Hungary and Transylvania was called the "Hungarian" side, and travel to Transylvania required passage across the "Hungarian" border.[17]

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nationale Identität in der Renaissance, ed. by T. Klaniczay et al. (Budapest 1993), 83–110.

[14] Petneki, "Wacław Potocki," 104–105. In the memoirs of Jan Chryzostom Pasek, we read a dialogue with a "Hungarian" (i.e. a servant from Hungary or in a Hungarian-styled uniform), who is apparently speaking Ruthenian: J. Pasek, *Pamiętniki* [The Memoirs], ed. by W. Czapliński (Wrocław 1979), 188; English translation: *The Memoirs of Jan Chryzostom z Gosławic Pasek*, transl. and ed. by M. A. J. Święcicka (New York–Warsaw 1978).

[15] M. Jagiełło, *Słowacy w polskich oczach. Obraz Słowaków w piśmiennictwie polskim* [Slovaks in Polish eyes. The image of Slovaks in Polish literature], vol. 1 (Warsaw 2005), 7.

[16] Cf. the literature quoted in fns. 7 and 9.

[17] "Diariusz Legaciey Pana Jerzego Bałabana starosty Trembowelskiego do Xcia JeMsci Siedmiogrodzkiego Jerzego Rakocego…" [The diary of the legation of Mr Jerzy Bałłaban, starosta of Trembowla, to His Majesty Prince of Transylvania George Rákóczi…], Biblioteka Polskiej Akademii Nauk w Krakowie (Library of the Polish Academy of Sciences, Cracow; hereafter: BPAN Kraków), Ms. 1569, 1^{v} ("our border with Hungary"), 9^{v} ("the mountains separate Poland and Hungary"). E.g. Jakub Łoś, a 17^{th}-century soldier, in his diary wrote only on "Hungarians," referring to Transylvania and the Transylvanians of George Rákóczi II. J. Łoś, *Pamiętnik towarzysza chorągwi pancernej* [The memoirs of a companion of the armoured cavalryman's banner unit], ed. by R. Śreniawa-Szypiowski (Warsaw 2000), 75–78.

The legacy of historiography

One of the main sources of the early modern understanding of identity and the description of other communities was the past. In Polish-Lithuanian public discourse, the set of examples and the historical horizon was obviously based on ancient authors and the Bible, but the country's own history also played a significant role.[18] In shaping this historical imagination, the legacy of late medieval Polish historiography was decisive, which also contained opinions about Hungarians. Similar to the later view of a common past, mutual relations were seen through dynastic ties. The rule of Louis, king of Hungary (1342–1382) and Poland (1370–1382), served frequently as a main example. Jan of Czarnków (1377–1386) in his chronicle harshly criticized his rule.[19] This opinion was upheld also by the main Polish historiographical oeuvre of the fifteenth century, the chronicle of Jan Długosz (1455–1480).[20] Both negatively reflected on the absence of the king, but also on the presence of Hungarians in Poland. Descriptions of anti-Hungarian riots in Cracow in 1376 by Długosz became commonplace. It was repeated by Marcin Bielski (c. 1495–1575), one of the most widely-read Polish early modern historians. He also blamed the Hungarians for thievery, "which is their custom," and ultimately for their own slaughter. Still, these words and other anti-Hungarian sentiments were added in a later edition of the chronicle, completed by Joachim Bielski in the late sixteenth century.[21] It confirms the observation that the attitude towards Hungarians recorded by historiography became more negative in the last dec-

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[18] Cf. H.-J. Bömelburg, *Frühneuzeitliche Nationen im östlichen Europa. Das polnische Geschichtsdenken und die Reichweite einer humanistischen Nationalgeschichte (1500–1700)* (Wiesbaden 2006).

[19] Janko z Czarnkowa, *Chronicon Polonorum*, ed. by J. Szlachtowski (Monumenta Poloniae Historica, 2) (Lwów 1872); cf. J. Kłoczowski, "Louis the Great as King of Poland as Seen in the Chronicle of Janko of Czarnkow," in *Louis the Great: King of Hungary and Poland*, ed. by S. B. Vardy et al. (New York 1986), 129–154.

[20] *Joannis Długosii Annales seu Cronicae incliti Regni Poloniae*, ed. by J. Dąbrowski et al., bks. 1–12 (Warsaw 1964–2005).

[21] M. Bielski, *Kronika wszystkiego świata* [A chronicle of the whole world] (Cracow 1551), 222^{v}–223; id., *Kronika polska* [The Polish chronicle] (Cracow 1597), 248, 250, 257. Cf. J. Tazbir, *Początki*, 394–396; D. Bagi, "Nagy Lajos lengyelországi uralmának megítélése a lengyel történetírásban" [Opinion on the Polish reign of Louis the Great in Polish historiography], in *Híd a századok felett. Tanulmányok Katus László 70. születésnapjára*, ed. by P. Hanák and M. Nagy (Pécs 1997), 101–112; Petneki, *Węgry*, 45–52. The quotations in the text, unless otherwise noted, are translated by the author.

ades of the sixteenth century.[22] As I point out further, this fact can be explained by more intensive contacts and therefore also conflicts during the rule of Stephen Báthory, where we see the influence of propaganda and changes in the European image of Hungarians.

Louis was for a long time an example of the disadvantages of foreign monarchs, inaccessible and favouring their compatriots over native nobility. Interestingly, this did not apply to his daughter Hedwig. Długosz also negatively judged King Matthias Corvinus, a rival of the Jagiellons in reigning over Hungary. This opinion proved to be crucial for most of Polish sixteenth-century historiography.[23] It seems, however, that this view of King Matthias—due to a less frequent presence of this figure in the public discourse—did not influence the image of the whole nation. Only some pleas against Corvinus fitted into the general image of Hungarians, such as blaming him for neglecting the fight against the Ottomans. This corresponded with similar accusations raised against Hungarians, as part of a broader narrative indicating their responsibility for the fall of the kingdom. The image of a "cruel," "invasive" and even tyrannical King Matthias, still alive in the Długosz-based historiography of the sixteenth century (Marcin Kromer, Maciej of Miechów and Marcin Bielski), was less popular in contemporary political writings, a kind of literature which developed widely in the second half of the sixteenth century, especially during the turmoil of the *interregna* after the death of the last Jagiellon in 1572. In contrast, the memory of King Louis' reign was evoked as an argument in actual discussions on government. This period was considered as the beginning of the Polish nobility's *ius resistandi* (right to resist). The legendary rebellion *(rokosz)* of Gliniany, which was thought to have occurred during Angevin rule in Poland, was a very popular topos in late sixteenth- and seventeenth-century political pamphlets.[24] According to a ficti-

[22] E. Dubas-Urwanowicz, "Swój i obcy w historiografii polskiej XVI wieku" [The familiar and the other in Polish historiography of the 16th century], in *Samoidentyfikacja mniejszości narodowych i religijnych w Europie Środkowo-Wschodniej. Historia i historiografia*, ed. by J. Lewandowski and W. Goleman (Lublin 1999), 66–67.

[23] K. Baczkowski, "Maciej Korwin, król Węgier (1458–1490) w opinii historiografii staropolskiej" [Matthias Corvinus, king of Hungary in the opinion of old Polish historiography], in *Aetas media—aetas moderna. Studia ofiarowane profesorowi Henrykowi Samsonowiczowi w siedemdziesiątą rocznicę urodzin*, ed. by H. Manikowska et al. (Warsaw 2000), 363–374.

[24] K. Baczkowski, "Dwie tradycje rządów andegaweńskich 1370–1386 w piśmiennictwie staropolskim" [Two traditions of Angevin rule, 1370–1386, in old Polish literature], *Annales Academiae Paedagogicae Cracoviensis* 21 (2004),

tious story, the king, forced by the resistance of the Polish nobility, withdrew his despotic orders as well as Hungarian countrymen from Polish offices. It was true, however, that he granted a fiscal privilege in Kassa (Košice) in Hungary in 1374. That is why some authors, like Łukasz Górnicki (1527–1603), derived "Polish freedom" from King Louis.[25] Positive evaluation of the story tempered the critical view of this period, but did not essentially change the image of King Louis and the Polish–Hungarian union. The inherited opinion was still at this point far from the view of an ever-strong relationship, and yet it still co-existed with the tradition of *conformitas*.

Between compassion and criticism: Hungary in the political debate

The fall of medieval Hungary had significant repercussions in neighbouring Poland. For many decades after 1526, the Ottoman threat was considered real and became a frequent argument in internal political discussions. The historical example merged with a new, almost contemporary one, as current events were seen as a consequence of recent history. Hungary served as an example of a well-known country, still mighty in popular remembrance, which turned into a permanent battlefield, located in the close vicinity. This resulted in the notion of a Hungary as a warning, which was largely based on the aforementioned topos (and thereafter, a myth) of "bulwark." In the Polish opinion the fall of Buda in 1541 drew at least the same attention as the Battle of Mohács in 1526. This is indicated by the popularity of a poem *Cantio de Hungaria occupata*, written directly after the dramatic events of 1541, and published in Cracow in 1558.[26] Several different manuscript versions have been preserved, the text was even set music.[27] The poem is predominantly moralistic, kept in the convention of

Studia Historica 3, 33–43; cf. D. Bagi, "Nagy Lajos," 45–60; Petneki, "Wacław Potocki," 94–96.

[25] Ł. Górnicki, "Droga do zupełnej wolności" [A road to complete freedom], in *Droga do zupełnej wolności. Rozmowa o elekcji, wolności, prawie i obyczajach polskich*, ed. by A. Kuczkiewicz-Fraś (Cracow 2011), 36.

[26] *Pieśń o posiedzeniu i o zniewoleniu żałosnym ziemie węgierskiej…* [A song on the conquest and lamentable enslavement of the Hungarian land] (Cracow, c. 1558), National Library, Warsaw (hereafter: BN), XVI.0.261.

[27] H. Kapełuś, "Cantio de Hungaria occupata," *Pamiętnik Literacki* 51, 4 (1960), 411–434 (contains the text and gathers earlier scholarship). The possible author was Stanisław Kleryka from Bochnia, friend of Piotr Porembski, who witnessed the events in Hungary in 1540s as a secretary of Queen Isabela of Jagiellon.

repentant lament. The main notion is the Ottoman threat: "the laws of Hungarian lords / are for nothing, they ceased, / the Hungarian remained with nothing, / the Turk deliberates on the field of Rákos."[28] Hungary serves as an example of a once mighty kingdom, symbolized here by self-governance and parliamentary traditions, which was led to ruin by its sins: greed and pride of the "rich Hungarians." Instead of "true council," enslaved Hungary is—among numerous plagues—a land of treason and unbelief. Therefore, the solution is to pray and atone. From the beginning of the partition of Hungary, the Hungarian theme was then closely connected with a moral warning. It emerged from the notion of Ottoman threat, frequently used also in Polish *Turcica* literature and preaching.

This above literary example, although published under the impact of actual events and of an evidently pro-Habsburg attitude, still seemed to lack a very apparent current political purpose. That was not the case with the Neo-Latin literature, which also raised the Hungarian theme in the 1540s, but used it for more than simply a moral example. The poetry of Clemens Janicius (1516–1543) is a case and point. Janicius was one of the first poets in Poland to mourn the collapse of the Kingdom of Hungary. His call—"The good of Pannonia is your good, O Poles, because the Sarmatian sails on the same boat"—expressed an opinion on Hungarian matters that became very common in the following decades.[29] Compassion towards Hungarians merged with a political anti-Ottoman goal, found in the collection of poems, *Pannoniae luctus*, published in Cracow in 1544.[30] From the mid-sixteenth century, the example of Hungary started to be widely used as a warning and also a call for political consent in Polish political theory (e.g. Andrzej Frycz-Modrzewski), and at the same time entered the public debate, as reflected in the diets of the 1550s.[31]

However, the political use of Hungarian topics was not limited to the anti-Ottoman sense. Hungary was seen not only as a place "where the

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[28] Kapełuś, "Cantio," 414.

[29] Ibid., 419; C. Janicius, *Carmina*, ed. by L. Ćwikliński (Cracow 1930), 43; Tafiłowski, *Imago Turci*, 191–193; N. Petneki, "Mohács i jego następstwa w twórczości poetyckiej humanisty Klemensa Janickiego" [Mohács and its consequences in the poetry of the humanist Clemens Janicius], in *Węgiersko-polskie więzi historyczne w X–XVI wieku. Magyar-lengyel történelmi kapcsolatok a X–XVI. században*, ed. by A. Nagy and L. Ábrán (Budapest 2003), 175–192 (also in Hungarian); cf. Tazbir, "Węgry," 439–440.

[30] B. Lakatos, "Pannoniae luctus—egy humanista antológia és a törökellenes Habsburg-lengyel összefogás kísérlete, 1544" [Pannoniae luctus—a humanist anthology and an attempt of anti-Turkish Habsburg–Polish collaboration], *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények* 112, 3 (2008), 259–286.

[31] Grzybowski, "Opinie," 86.

Turk stays," but as a subject of Habsburg rule as well. It served then as an argument in internal debates. The period of the first *interregna* (1572–1573, 1574–1575/76) resulted in an essential growth of political polemics. The debate about candidates involved the Habsburgs: Archduke Ernest (1553–1595) and Emperor Maximilian II (1527–1576).[32] The attitude towards them influenced the image of Hungary. Their followers stressed Hungarian guilt for loss of independence and the ability of the House of Habsburg to govern and maintain the remaining territory of the Kingdom of Hungary and defend it against Ottomans. Contrary to the Ottoman rule, the Habsburgs were seen by their adherents as milder sovereigns, ruling with the permission of their subjects.[33] Nevertheless, more suggestive and widespread was the opinion of Hungary as an example and warning of Habsburg tyranny. The dynasty was accused of introducing its own political model, promoting its own people (Germans), fiscal oppression and limiting religious freedom.[34] The situation of the Kingdom of Hungary was examined in relation to Silesia and the Netherlands, but above all in connection to Bohemia. In the popular political writings, both countries were seen as a part of the Habsburg dominion. Therefore, in the modern history writing these two examples were described together as the "Bohemian–Hungarian argument."[35] Until the end of the sixteenth century, sympathy towards those "oppressed countries" seemed to prevail over criticism. It was closely connected with the political program of the middle nobility. This so-called executionist movement, which had reached its peak in the 1560s and 1570s, concentrated on its rights and its position against magnates.[36] In the rhetoric of the movement's followers, an analogy to Hungary and the stereotype of Habsburg tyranny was used among other historical and contemporary references to strengthen its argumentation. Parallel to usage of the Hungarian argument for pro- or anti-

[32] Cf. A. Bues, *Die habsburgische Kandidatur für den polnischen Thron während des ersten Interregnums in Polen 1572/73* (Vienna 1984); Ch. Augustynowicz, *Die Kandidaten und Interessen des Hauses Habsburg in Polen-Litauen während des zweiten Interregnums 1574–1576* (Vienna 2001).

[33] *Pisma polityczne z czasów pierwszego bezkrólewia* [Political writings of the first interregnum], ed. by J. Czubek (Cracow 1906), 698.

[34] Ibid., 350, 390 ff., 422, 457, 461, 492, 635 ff., 697; cf. S. Brzeziński, "Tyran i tyrania w staropolskim języku politycznym (XVI—XVII w.)" [The tyrant and tyranny in old Polish-language of politics, 16th and 17th century], in *Społeczeństwo staropolskie. Seria nowa*, vol. 1, ed. by A. Karpiński and I. Dacka-Górzyńska (Warsaw 2008), 314–315; Grzybowski, "Opinie," 90–93; I. Kąkolewski, *Melancholia*, 267–270.

[35] Cf. J. Leszczyński, "The Part" (extensively quotes from the political writings).

[36] *Polaków i Czechów wizerunek*; J. Leszczyński, "The Part."

Habsburg propaganda, it served internal political goals as well. A good example of such a practice is a speech of King Stephen Báthory to the Diet of 1585: the king himself argued against his opponents by pointing to his fatherland, which perished because of internal disunity.[37]

The anti-Habsburg moods remained alive in the first half of the reign of King Sigismund III (1587–1632). The king in his first years was accused of planning to hand over the crown to the Habsburgs, the leader of the opposition became the mighty Chancellor Jan Zamoyski, who frequently used the anti-Habsburg rhetoric. This also resulted in a broader usage of the "Hungarian example." A significant change can be observed in the image of Hungary at the beginning of seventeenth century. From a country generally treated with compassion—even if politically motivated—and therefore playing mostly a passive role between the two tyrannies, Ottoman or Habsburg (according to the standpoint), Hungary began to be considered more frequently as an actor. No doubt, it happened also under the impact of the policy of Prince Sigismund Báthory, the Long Turkish War (1591/93–1606) and, later, Stephen Bocskai's revolt (1604–1606) and Gabriel Bethlen's military campaigns (1619–1620, 1623–1624, 1626). The writings from the time of the rebellion against Sigismund III (1606–1609) showed this ambiguous usage of the Hungarian topic in the political struggle. On the one hand, still alive was the image of Hungary and Transylvania as victims of domestic and external division as well—in this case, Jesuits and Habsburgs, who were blamed for their collapse and chaos.[38] On the other hand, the topic of "Hungarian disunion," inspired by actual events like the Bocskai revolt, further evolved and resulted in a more negative image. In the early seventeenth century, Poland supported the argument for internal unity against anti-royal opposition: Hungarians lost their kingdom to civil war and in calling foreigners for help, thus, questioning the legitimacy of their own legal ruler would lead to the same misery.[39] Hungary was seen by the adherents of the king as a country allied with the Ottomans, from whom can be expected danger rather than help: in Hungary "Turks and Tatars are living as at home," and they "became brothers, even made a match with Hungarians."[40] An additional character-

[37] *Diariusze sejmowe r. 1585* [Records of the 1585 diet], ed. by A. Czuczyński (Scriptores Rerum Polonicarum, 18) (Cracow 1901), 34.
[38] *Pisma polityczne z czasów rokoszu Zebrzydowskiego 1606–1608* [Political writings from the time of Zebrzydowski's rebellion 1606–1608], ed. by J. Czubek, vols. 1–3 (Cracow 1916–1918), 1:4, 94; 2:425–426, 457, 468–469; 3:33–49, passim.
[39] Ibid., 1:142; 2:300, 327–328, 459.
[40] Ibid., 2:222.

istic of Hungarians appeared: they are rebels, causing dangerous turmoil and deposing rulers. In one of the dialogues from the early seventeenth century, the need for a Diet in Cracow was argued for by the fact that "here nearby, in Hungary, we have rebels, close to our border Bocskai quarrels with Basta." The implication was that if such as these two argue, one can be affected for no apparent reason at all; they can soon betray a neighbour and disturb their peace and liberty.[41] According to this view, Stephen Bocskai was depicted negatively as a traitor, while the anti-royal opposition associated him with the fight for liberty and fatherland.[42] Like the image of Hungarians, the figure of the Transylvanian prince was an instrument in internal controversy—the royal side accused its foes of planning to replace the king with Bocskai, or at least use his military's help, which they firmly denied. This image clearly was shaped by the needs of the actual political and military conflict in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, but one should also consider the influence of the Habsburg propaganda describing Hungarians as rebels.

Undoubtedly, such negative opinions also had deeper roots, namely, the late medieval popular characteristics of nations—moreover, frequently originating from German-speaking territories—which mostly described Hungarians as "unfaithful" and "rebellious." A similar set of accusations was repeated in early modern Polish poems of this kind, which contributed to the range of this "Hungarian" feature in political literature and pamphlets and therefore kept the stereotype alive.[43] Interestingly, some similar accusations can be found in the Hungarian image of the Poles. The Transylvanian Hungarians visiting Poland in the first half of the seventeenth century blamed the inhabitants of the country for the same characteristic—being factious and rebellious—which was often attributed to them.[44] Thus,

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[41] *Literatura mieszczańska w Polsce od końca XVI w. do końca XVII w.* [Burgher literature in Poland from the end of the 16th until the end of the 17th century], ed. by K. Budzyk et al., vols. 1–2 (Warsaw 1954), 1:188–189 (A. Władysławiusz, *Dialog albo rozmowa*).

[42] *Pisma polityczne z czasów rokoszu*, 1:129; 2:118, 460 (negatively), 294 (positively). Cf. K. Teszelszky and M. Zászkaliczky, "A Bocskai-felkelés és az európai információhálózatok (Hírek, diplomácia és politikai propaganda, 1604–1606)" [Bocskai's revolt and the European information networks (News, diplomacy and political propaganda, 1604–1606)], *Aetas* 27, 4 (2012), 79–80, 85–86.

[43] Kot, "Old International Insults and Praises"; id., "Nationum Proprietates."

[44] G. Kármán, "Identity and Borders: Seventeenth-Century Hungarian Travellers in the West and East," *European Review of History. Revue européenne d'histoire* 17, 4 (2010), 563.

the stereotypical mutual similarity seems to have extended even over the set of critical remarks.

Soldiers, robbers and the stench of garlic

In the aforementioned political debates, Hungary was portrayed in a more general light, mostly as a simplified image, adjusted to the inherited topics and political goals of the author. From the late sixteenth century, an individualized image became more widespread, based on real contacts and accompanied by fading anti-Habsburg stereotypes. Accordingly, Hungarians were frequently seen and judged as soldiers. Clear evidence of cultural exchange in this field exists in the form of a number of military loanwords in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Polish, borrowed from Hungarian, or indirectly from oriental languages. Especially in seventeenth-century Polish a Hungarian soldier was called with separate words: "katan" (derived from the Hungarian "katona"—"soldier") or "sabat"/"sabot" (Hung. "szabad"—"free," i.e. freely enrolled, volunteer).[45] The image of internal Hungarian discord influenced opinion on Hungarians' military skills. Already in a chronicle from the mid-sixteenth century, the lack of consent between Hungarians was seen as a main cause of misfortune in wars with Ottomans. Hungarians were said to fight "sluggishly."[46] In the next decades, Poles could form their own opinion in the matter. In Poland, inhabitants of different parts of historical Hungary were enrolled in royal and private armies since the late Middle Ages. Their number increased in 1570s–80s, mainly due to close ties under the reign of Stephen Báthory (1576–1586). In the seventeenth century, the Hungarian enrolment lost its significance.[47] The Transylvanian troops who took part in Báthory's wars against Muscovy (1577–1582), in spite of their bravery, did not leave behind very

[45] Niewiara, *Wyobrażenia*, 201; Bystroń, *Megalomania*, 76; K. Török, "Polsko-węgierskie, węgiersko-polskie kontakty językowe–historia i współczesność" [Polish–Hungarian and Hungarian–Polish linguistic contacts: history and present], *Studia Pragmalingwistyczne* 1 (2009), 169, 174–176.

[46] *Kronika od r. 1507 do 1541 spisana (z rękopismu 1549 r.)* [A chronicle of years 1507–1541 from the manuscript of 1549], ed. by K. W. Wójcicki (Biblioteka Starożytna Pisarzy Polskich, 6) (Warsaw 1844), 16; cf. Niewiara, *Wyobrażenia*, 198–199.

[47] M. Plewczyński, *W służbie polskiego króla. Z zagadnień struktury narodowościowej armii koronnej w latach 1500–1574* [In the service of the Polish king. The national structure of the royal army, 1500–1574] (Siedlce 1995), 117–135; id., *Wojny i wojskowość polska w XVI wieku* [Polish wars and warfare in the 16th century], vol. 3, *1576–1599* (Zabrze–Tarnowskie Góry 2013), 35.

good memories. Complaints were expressed about their greed, like in the diary of priest Jan Piotrowski, an eyewitness of Báthory's campaign. He stated that "Hungarians are angry at us, as we did not grant them any castles [in Livonia]. We quarrel with them very much."[48] Similar opinions can be found, for example, in the diary of hetman Stanisław Żółkiewski, commander in the war against Muscovy in 1609–1611, writing about "riotous and immoral" Hungarians in Polish service.[49] However, lack of discipline was of course by no means an unusual problem in warfare, using ethnically heterogeneous armies, and therefore insubordination cannot be understood as a specifically Hungarian feature. In fact, for Polish nobility, even more shocking news was to come later, as in case of the Transylvanian raid in 1610 on the southern borderland. The complaints of local diets were repeated also in forthcoming years.[50] They disseminated the stereotype of Hungarians as robbers, like in a polemical Latin piece by Szymon Starowolski (c. 1587–1656), who enumerated the disadvantages of other nations, stating "we are not used to practicing robbery and pillaging, like the Hungarians."[51] Turmoil along the southern border made the Polish side more suspicious in relations with Hungary and Transylvania, during and after the Thirty Years' War—a conflict in which the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and Principality of Transylvania found themselves on opposite sides.

In the popular literature we find evidence of sometimes difficult relationships with southern neighbours and a common image of them. A typical plea included that of slave trade or theft of horses and cattle. Sebastian Fabian Klonowic (c. 1545–1602) in his collection of poems *Worek Judaszów* (Sack of Judases, 1600), among other criminals, depicted a thief, riding through dangerous borderland areas: the Tatra Mountains and the Stryi River, which directly indicated Hungarian or Transylvanian subjects. They were also blamed by him for the slave trade, realized in a treacherous way: by attracting people to taverns, making them drunk, kidnapping them and getting them "on the Turkish side," which meant selling them to

[48] J. Piotrowski, *Dziennik wyprawy Stefana Batorego pod Psków* [The diary of the campaign of Stephen Báthory to Pskov], ed. by A. Czuczyński (Cracow 1894), 213.
[49] S. Żółkiewski, *Początek i progres wojny moskiewskiej* [The beginning and progress of the Muscovite war], ed. by J. Maciszewski (Warsaw 1966), 114–115, 188.
[50] Grzybowski, "Opinie," 108–109.
[51] S. Starowolski, "Mowa przeciw oszczercom Polski" [A speech against the defamers of Poland], in *Wybór z pism*, ed. by I. Lewandowski (Wrocław 1991), 193, orig. ed.: *Declamatio contra obtrectatores Poloniae* (Cracow 1631).

Buda.[52] Such an image could diffuse effectively, as the book had four editions in the next seven years. In the popular and mostly anonymous satirical war news, commonly written in the form of a dialogue, we read about the corrupt manners of Hungarian soldiers. A "beer war" shall kill them rather than the Turk—states the Priest in a dialogue with a figure typical for that literature, called Albertus—"they blunt their weapons rather on them than on Turk," courageous in feast, but not in the battle.[53] The Hungarians appeared here as soldiers motivated only by profit, while being afraid of attacking the Ottomans.[54]

The Long Turkish War undoubtedly fixed the associations of Hungary as a land of conflict and of Hungarians as unreliable men of arms. How strong this association could be, is showed by the example of Adam Czahrowski (c. 1565–after 1599), who spent several years in Hungarian military service at that time. Although he got to know his Hungarian brothers in arms much better than other Polish noblemen and spoke Hungarian, he expressed divergent opinions in his poetry, both praising the bravery of soldiers and the charm of the country while also criticising its "deceitful" people of insufficient virtue. In his case, an inconsistency in his image of Hungary and Hungarians can be regarded as evidence of how lively the older stereotypes were, but can be understood also according to the categories of author and audience: the goal to deliver an attractive image of Hungarians prevailed.[55]

Criticism of Hungarian military skill was of course not always as severe as in the quoted satirical pieces. It is however noteworthy that a distance was expressed even in far more moderated texts, like in the diary of Jakub Sobieski (1591–1646), a prominent politician and senator, a man well-educated and of considerable international experience. In 1638 he accompanied the royal couple, Ladislaus IV and Cecilia Renata of Austria, on their journey to Baden in Lower Austria. He visited the Hungarian Palatine Miklós Esterházy in Eisenstadt on the occasion of the wedding of the palatine's son, István, where he represented the king. He judged the troops accompanying the ceremony as follows:

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[52] *Literatura mieszczańska*, 1:161, 164–165. Cf. G. Pálffy, "Ransom Slavery along the Ottoman-Hungarian Frontier in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," in *Ransom Slavery along the Ottoman Borders (Early Fifteenth–Early Eighteenth Centuries)*, ed. by G. Dávid and P. Fodor (Leiden–Boston–Cologne 2007), 35–83.
[53] *Literatura mieszczańska*, 2:192–193, 195–196 (*Albertus z wojny*, 1596).
[54] Ibid., 2:199–200.
[55] Petneki, *Węgry*, 17, 106–109, 123–124. A. Czahrowski, *Treny i rzeczy rozmaite (1597)* [The threnodies and various verses], ed. by T. Mikulski (Warsaw 1937), I 20, II 52, v. 71–72.

> There was a cavalry, as they counted, of eight-hundred men; but as it happened at night, some of us suspected that they entered the castle twice, to make the number of them seem greater. The horses, in comparison to ours, were quite poor, and the lances, or rather saplings, without panaches. Most of the *katan*s wore wolfskins, some of them were dressed in tiger and leopard skins. The saddles, of whatever kind, and the men were not dressed elegantly.[56]

A few years later another Polish nobleman, Jerzy Bałłaban, who travelled as an envoy to another Hungarian wedding held in Alba Iulia in 1643, namely that of the younger George Rákóczi, son of the prince of Transylvania, George Rákóczi I, criticized the Hungarian ceremonial troops even more strongly. As he noted, the soldiers of the princely court appeared at the feast in torn clothes and poor shoes.[57] However, to describe this relationship properly, we should keep in mind that almost nothing satisfied the author in Transylvania, and his diary is full of bitter complaints and disappointment with food, accommodation and the people.

A negative image of Hungarians in Poland was expanded in the mid-seventeenth century by a topic of an odd nature: their smell. According to several testimonies from literary sources and diaries, a Hungarian's indispensable feature was the odour of garlic. Wacław Potocki (1621–1696), one of main figures of the seventeenth-century Polish Baroque literature, in the dedication to his epic *Transakcja wojny chocimskiej* (The progress of the Khotyn war), states, "Crush the Hungarian in mortar, do what you want with him, he will still stink of garlic as before," which is a part of a critique of kings of foreign origin.[58] The topic appears regularly in references to the prince of Transylvania, George Rákóczi II (1621–1660). In Potocki's satirical epitaph of the prince, Rákóczi estimated his richness and glory by his view of pigs, oxen and "plenty of garlic." Elsewhere he used also a seemingly popular saying, "you stink of musk as a Hungarian

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[56] J. Sobieski, "Droga do Baden (1638)" [A journey to Baden, 1638], in *Peregrynacja po Europie (1607–1613) i podróż do Baden (1638)*, ed. by J. Długosz (Wrocław 1991), 250.

[57] *Diariusz Legaciey*, f. 3^{v}–4^{v}, cf. the Hung. ed.: *II. Rákóczy György esküvője. Bałłaban György lengyel követ naplója. Forrásközlés* [The wedding of George Rákóczi II. The diary of the Polish envoy Jerzy Bałłaban. Text edition], ed. by G. Várkonyi (Budapest 1990).

[58] W. Potocki, *Wojna chocimska* [The Khotyn war], ed. by A. Brückner (Cracow 1924), 370; Petneki, "Wacław Potocki," 94.

of garlic."[59] The noble, soldier and memoirist Jan Chryzostom Pasek (c. 1636–1701) noted about the prince that "he was fed up with peace and acquired a fancy for some Polish garlic, which somebody praised for him in jest, saying that it was better tasting than the Hungarian […] In Poland he was not only given garlic, but a hard time as well." He continued the metaphor, stating that through the war, instead of expected spoils, he brought misery, mourning and death to his compatriots, and all that, together with his collapse and death: "that's garlic for you!"[60] Both authors used the popular stereotype as an instrument in constructing a satire of actual or past events, with outstandingly scornful opinion on the prince and Hungarians.

The invasion of Poland in 1657 by George Rákóczi II had of course a negative impact on the image of Hungarians in the commonwealth. The general image was somehow different from the opinions about other enemies of the commonwealth in the wars of the mid-seventeenth century, like Cossacks, Swedes and Muscovites. The abrupt campaign was seen together with its consequences: the defeat of the Transylvanian army, its enslavement by the Tatars and the retaliatory Polish raid against Transylvania. Thus, the evaluation tended to be contemptuous and also moralistic. The notion of a Hungarian robber gained an unquestionable basis. Additionally, Hungarians started to be characterized as people of low social origin, deprived of noble features ("mob," "primitive robbers"), and associated with their "Hunnic" origins.[61] This fact notwithstanding, an interesting dualism can be observed in the image of Hungarians. Critical remarks reached both the prince and his compatriots, but the sharp criticism concentrated rather on Rákóczi himself, only incidentally on some of his main commanders. As quoted above, in satirical texts the prince was equipped with the negative prejudices contra Hungarians, like those of poor military skills, greed and treachery. Attempting to gain the Polish throne, he was considered to be simply chasing a wild-goose and therefore appeared not as a threat but merely as a "Hungarian thief, the mad Rákóczi," "clown" and pitiful case: "And when he pays the Poles for his life with gold, / he will admit that [it is] better to fight the Vlachs, a fool. / It was good for you, little Hungarian, to plant the vine, / and not to argue with the old

[59] Petneki, "Wacław Potocki," 101; *Nowa księga przysłów polskich* [New book of Polish sayings], ed. by J. Krzyżanowski, vols. 1–3 (Warsaw 1969–1972), 2:949; 3:646.
[60] J. Pasek, *Pamiętniki*, 8–10 (*The Memoirs*, 74, 76).
[61] Petneki, "Wacław Potocki," 100 (also by Wespazjan Kochowski); eadem, *Węgry*, 93–94.

neighbours."[62] Lines by Wespazjan Kochowski (1633–1700), who himself took part in the revenge raid against Transylvania, depict Rákóczi—"an inept commander" and "tyrant"—trembling in reaction to the attack of hetman Stefan Czarniecki, letting his officers be taken as hostages instead of him, while fleeing "timidly, without drawing his sword."[63] Transylvanians were described also as wild, unprofessional soldiers, but basically treated with disrespect and irony. This image often served for comic rather than fear-provoking effect. Father Adrian Pikarski, who witnessed the capitulation of the Transylvanian army, being aware of its cruelty, expressed in his diary even compassion to the "poor Hungarians"—a notion which was present also in the scoffing passages of other authors.[64] In a short Latin poem, the prince was blamed for the misfortune of Transylvania, but his people appeared as miserable, mourning and complaining about him.[65] It is characteristic that in the political journalism of the 1650s and 1660s the Hungarian example appeared far more occasionally. Hungary still served as a memorable historical case: the well-established topic was stretched to contain also the contemporary failure of Rákóczi's campaign in Poland. Like earlier, it was strictly connected to the actual political controversy, the attempts of King John Casimir to ensure the succession of Louis Prince of Condé in the mid-1660s, or—from the other side—against the adversary of the king, hetman Jerzy Lubomirski, who earlier led the Polish revenge raid on Transylvania in 1657.[66]

A more established negative stereotype of Hungarian soldiers and warfare emerged in the characterisation of *kuruc* troops, who fought in the second half of seventeenth and at the beginning of the eighteenth century against the Habsburg side along the Carpathian Basin, but above all in Transylvanian service. In Polish sources they were depicted rather critically, as "rebels," also because of their less knightly tactic. No doubt it was

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[62] W. Potocki, *Dzieła* [Collected works], ed. by L. Kukulski (Warsaw 1987), 1:457; Petneki, "Wacław Potocki," 101; J. Pasek, *The Memoirs*, 74.

[63] W. Kochowski, *Psalmodia polska oraz wybór liryków i fraszek* [Polish psalmody and a collection of lyrics], ed. by J. Krzyżanowski (Cracow 1926), 63–64 (*Proporzec nieumierającej sławy… Stefana Czarnieckiego…*, v. 109–114).

[64] A. Pikarski, "Diarium bellici progressus cum Georgio Rakocio," in B. Kalicki, *Ksiądz Adrian Pikarski i jego Dziennik wyprawy przeciw Rakocemu r. 1657* (Lwów 1864), 256, 258; Petneki, *Węgry*, 93; Grzybowski, "Opinie," 109.

[65] "Lachrimae afflictae Hungariae," BPAN Kraków, Ms 2254, 37^{v}–38^{r} (microfilm: BN, Mf. 31188).

[66] *Pisma polityczne z czasów panowania Jana Kazimierza Wazy, 1648–1668* [Political writings from the reign of John Casimir Vasa], vols. 1–3, ed. by S. Ochmann-Staniszewska (Wrocław 1989–1991), 2:190, 261, 3:64; Kochowski, *Psalmodia*, 63 (v. 101–104).

also a consequence of the alliance of Emmerich Thököly with Ottomans in the wars against the Christian league in 1683–1684. Pasek noted in a description of the events of 1683 that during their march through the mountains of Upper Hungary, they were constantly attacked by Hungarian *kuruc* troops, who kidnapped and killed the servants, robbed the supplies and fled back to the mountains. The hostility to them went so far, that the Poles, forced by the muddy weather to leave some precious boots won by Vienna, decided rather to destroy them than to let them fall into Hungarian hands.[67]

At that time the image of Hungarians in Europe generally worsened due to the Thököly's Ottoman alliance. In Poland-Lithuania, it could not be positive also because of the huge impact the victory of Vienna had on domestic opinion and the key role it played in royal propaganda.[68] The negative attitude towards Hungarians and Transylvanians, which arose in the time of Rákóczi's war against Poland, was then strengthened: a clear proof is found in the manuscript newspapers from the 1680s.[69] A stereotypical figure of the "traitorous" "rebel" Hungarian survived in Polish folklore up until the nineteenth century.[70] Although the political events were crucial for this trend, the growing antipathy also had clear confessional causes dating back to the early seventeenth century.

Divided in politics, divided in faith?

The notion of Hungarian disunity, based firstly on the actual partition of the country, soon found strong corroboration from the fact of religious di-

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[67] Pasek, *The Memoirs*, 496. Cf. the robbery of Upper Hungary by the Polish and Lithuanian army in 1683: W. Semkowicz, "Udział wojsk litewskich Sobieskiego w kampanji roku 1683" [The participation of Sobieski's Lithuanian army in the 1683 campaign], *Ateneum Wileńskie* 9 (1933–1934), 129–158, 199–201.

[68] Cf. B. Köpeczi, *"Magyarország a kereszténység ellensége." A Thököly-felkelés az európai közvéleményben* ["Hungary, an enemy of Christianity." The rebellion of Thököly in the European public opinion] (Budapest 1976); L. Hopp, "A felszabadító háborúk tükröződése a lengyel irodalomban. A bécsi diadaltól Buda visszavívásáig, 1683–1686" [The reflection of liberation wars in Polish literature. From the victory of Vienna to the recapture of Buda], *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények* 90, 3 (1983), 275–290; Grzybowski, "Opinie," 113–121; Petneki, *Węgry*, 95–102.

[69] B. Popiołek, "Tematyka węgierska w polskich gazetach rękopiśmiennych z przełomu XVII i XVIII wieku" [The Hungarian topics in the Polish manuscript newspapers at the turn of the 17th and 18th centuries], *Annales Academiae Paedagogicae Cracoviensis. Studia Historica* 1 (2001), 22–23.

[70] Grzybowski, "Opinie," 110.

versity. Both divisions, political and confessional, were often perceived jointly, especially if it fitted as an argument into religious controversies. The accusation of the "rebellious" nature of Hungarians could be easily adapted in such a narrative, as well. Criticism of the supposed Hungarian "heresy" appeared in Poland-Lithuania at the end of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth century and can be explained by an increasing role of religious tensions and attempts at re-Catholicisation under Sigismund III (1587–1632). Even then, the accusation against Hungarians due to their heterodoxy appeared rather as another aspect of the political split and conflict between Christians and Ottomans.[71] The internal conflict between Hungarians and their "betrayals" were derived from the devils' incitement, just as any other civil war. The popular opinion on the Hungarians' attitude towards religion was traced back from the negative image of Hungarian soldiers.[72] In the first phase of the Thirty Years' War, the Latin writings were more moderate in their evaluation of the Transylvanian side, but those written in Polish revealed greater antagonism[73]—in reference to the literary comments on the Polish engagement in the war on the Habsburg side. An extreme example of identifying Hungarians with heresy can be found in Wojciech Dembołęcki's apology of Polish-Lithuanian mercenary troops (1623), who helped Ferdinand II in the struggle against Protestant allies, among them the prince of Transylvania, Gabriel Bethlen, in the first phase of the Thirty Years' War. Bethlen's army was portrayed in a highly disrespectful manner as a rebellious heretic mob, the prince himself as a "snake," guarding his pit. In the role of a positive Hungarian, the author cast György Drugeth of Homonna, "a man of great zeal," who brought the Poles military aid.[74] A negative image of Bethlen as a heretic ruler appeared also in newspapers, similarly in a strong political context and not necessarily with an appraisal of the Polish cavalry troops. In a print from 1620, Bethlen is alleged to be a defender of Islam, killing his predecessor and obtaining the throne through treachery. Though Bohemia is granted the main role as a heretical land, Transylvania and its ruler definitely belong to a hostile camp, which was primarily defined as Protestant. In another propagandistic print from 1620, the Transylvanian army was

[71] As by Jan Jurkowski (c. 1580–1639) and other authors, cf. Petneki, *Węgry*, 28, 119, 122–123; Leszczyński, "The Part," 52–53.
[72] *Literatura mieszczańska*, 2:60, 192.
[73] Grzybowski, "Opinie," 101.
[74] W. Dembołęcki, *Przewagi elearów polskich, co ich niegdy lisowczykami zwano* [The victories of the Polish *elears*, called once *lisowczycy*], ed. by R. Sztyber (Toruń 2005), 168–169, 172, 183 ff., and passim.

called "Calvinist" also in the title.[75] This characteristic appeared later occasionally in the conflict with George Rákóczi II, but more frequently in the 1680s in connection with Thököly. Still, even in the debate at the beginning of the Thirty Years' War, it was not the only attitude towards Hungarians, as indicated by the title of another popular print: *Seventy reasons, for which Poland should not help Austria against Hungarians and Bohemians* (1619).[76] It argued by way of political and moral reasons, but—significantly—not via a common past or long-lasting friendship, ideas which were present in diplomatic texts in the previous decades and occasionally still in the mid-seventeenth century.[77]

No doubt, the periods of political antagonism—together with the changing confessional image of both Poland-Lithuania and attempts of Calvinist confessionalisation in Transylvania under Bethlen and the Rákóczis—strengthened the tendency to perceive the land and its people through the viewpoint of religion. It was also influenced by the negative opinions towards Hungarians present in Habsburg propaganda and other newspapers from German-speaking territories. The confessional perspective did not, however, reach the same extent as in the images of Swedes, Muscovites or Germans, but rather remained subsidiary in the representations of Hungarians.[78]

A comparative perspective

The connection between the confessional and political issues in the early modern Polish image of Hungarians seemed to result also from the durable political dependence of large part of Hungary and Transylvania on the Ottoman Empire. This image was therefore partly influenced by the image

[75] K. Zawadzki, *Prasa ulotna za Zygmunta III* [Press during the rule of Sigismund III] (Warsaw 1997), 124, 126: *Nowe Nowiny z Czech, Tatar y z Węgier…*; *Pieśń o cnych Lysowskich Kozakach abo Pogrom Czechów y Kalwinistów przez Lisowczyki…*

[76] Biblioteka Czartoryskich, Kraków (Czartoryski Library, Cracow), Ms 1362 II, microfilm: BN Mf. 21638; on the text cf. H. Gmiterek, "Polskie opinie o Czechach w dobie powstania 1618–1620" [Polish opinions on Bohemians in the time of the 1618–1620 uprising], in *Polaków i Czechów wizerunek*, 187–188 (quotes older studies).

[77] Cf. Hopp, *Az "antemurale."* For the opinion in Poland-Lithuania on the events of the Thirty Years' War, see R. Lolo, *Rzeczpospolita wobec wojny trzydziestoletniej (1618-1635). Opinie i stanowiska szlachty* [The Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth attitude towards the Thirty Years' War (1618–1635). Opinions and attitudes of the nobility] (Pułtusk 2004).

[78] Niewiara, "Inni," 180–183.

of "pagans": Ottomans, Tartars and the Muslim world—mostly considered as one of the major threats—and of Christian tributaries of the sultan. Still, it was not simply a confessional issue, but included a whole set of stereotypes: cultural, historical and political. Some analogies between the image of Hungarians and those of the inhabitants of some other countries can be observed.

I mentioned the similarities in the Polish opinion towards Hungarians and Czechs. In the sixteenth century, a positive attitude towards Czechs prevailed and, as indicated above, they were also supported by Polish opinion against Habsburg rule. Yet, just like in the case of the Hungarians, their situation began to be taken into account mainly in the context of the Habsburg monarchy and was strongly influenced by attitudes towards the dynasty. Furthermore, the image of the Czechs was ambiguous: it involved a plea of "heresy," which originated from the European impact of Hussitism. Similar to the Hungarians, Czechs were characterized as "rebels," this plea depending strongly on the political orientation of the authors. Generally, in Polish opinion of the seventeenth century, Czechs were treated with greater distance and after 1620 also with less interest compared to the mighty neighbours. Contrary to the image of Hungarians, which changed over time, negative attitudes towards Czechs at that time determined also stereotype-building in the eighteenth and nineteenth century.[79] One might add, though, that Italians were blamed for a similar set of faults, including treachery and disunity.[80]

Some similarities can be found also in comparison with the early modern Polish representations of Vlachs and Moldavians. It was the political subjection to the Ottomans which was reflected in images of the inhabitants of those principalities as well as Transylvania. Although Transylvanians were commonly characterized as Hungarians, the peculiar status of the principality could be used as an argument. During the reign of Stephen Báthory, for example, it was evoked by the anti-royal opposition of the 1580s. In texts like the speech of Krzysztof Zborowski at the 1585 Diet or Bartosz Paprocki's pamphlets, the Transylvanians were intentionally associated with the inhabitants of other Ottoman tributaries, Serbia, the Ottoman Empire and even Muscovy, in order to slander the ruler because of his origin and alleged preference for tyranny. In the early seventeenth century, the name "Vlachs" appeared in critical statements about Hungarians who were supported in Poland during the rule of Stephen Báthory. Also at the time of Rákóczi's invasion, the Transylvanians were addressed as

[79] *Polaków i Czechów wizerunek* (see papers by W. Iwańczak and H. Gmiterek).
[80] Tygielski, *Włosi*, 218.

"Vlachs."[81] Wallachia and Moldavia were associated with political instability and depicted as dangerous areas on a lesser civilizational level, their inhabitants seen often as soldiers with the inclination to pillage.[82] The geographical proximity and dependency on the Ottomans made it possible to extend the features attributed to them onto Transylvanians and even Hungarians. It was, however, mainly for rhetorical purposes and as a part of an argument, and does not testify to a lack of knowledge about the southern neighbours.

Stephen Báthory and the stereotype of Hungarians

As indicated, the qualities of the Transylvanian princes often played a crucial role in shaping popular opinion on their country and the Hungarians. The negative characteristics that spread in seventeenth-century Poland-Lithuania, mainly in connection with Gabriel Bethlen, George Rákóczi II and Emmerich Thököly, were balanced by positive remarks. These appeared by recalling the reign of King Stephen Báthory, where opinions on his rule commonly merged with views about his compatriots. At first, the king's successes in his wars against Muscovy hindered criticism. Also, skilful royal propaganda influenced the favourable image of the ruler. However, in the last years of the king's reign, this opinion was disturbed by the controversy around his role in the execution of Samuel Zborowski (1584), a member of an influential family who were antagonists of Báthory, but above all Chancellor Jan Zamoyski.[83] The harsh criticism was

[81] *Diariusze sejmowe r. 1585*, 372–373; B. Paprocki, "Upominek albo przestroga zacnemu Narodowi Polskiemu" [A reminder or warning for the noble Polish nation], in *Bartosza Paprockiego dwie broszury polityczne z lat 1587 i 1588*, ed. by J. Czubek (Cracow 1900), 25, 35–36; *Pisma polityczne z czasów rokoszu*, 2:436; cf. Brzeziński, "Tyran," 340–342 and fn. 60.

[82] Porawska, "Stereotypy," 171, 177–178; Niewiara, *Wyobrażenia*, 213–214. For sources, parallels and the contemporary intellectual discourse of "othering" the Vlachs, see G. Almási, "Constructing the Wallach 'Other' in the Late Renaissance," in *Whose Love of Which Country*, 91–129.

[83] On internal politics during Báthory's reign: E. Dubas-Urwanowicz, *O nowy kształt Rzeczypospolitej. Kryzys polityczny w państwie w latach 1576–1586* [For a new shape of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. The political crisis in the years 1576–1586] (Warsaw 2013); on the royal propaganda: I. Horn, *Báthory István uralkodói portréja* [The image of Stephen Báthory as a ruler], in *Portré és imázs. Politikai propaganda és reprezentáció a kora újkorban*, ed. by N. G. Etényi and I. Horn (Budapest 2008), 363–400; K. Zawadzki, *Początki prasy polskiej. Gazety ulotne i seryjne XVI-XVIII wieku* [The beginnings of the Polish press. Occasional and serial newspapers of the 16th and 17th century] (Warsaw 2002), 69–88.

an effect of the internal political struggle, but involved also remarks concerning Hungarians. The opposition demanded that Hungarians be deprived of the dignities and wealth they gained during Báthory's rule. The antagonism that arose around Hungarians surrounding the king was real, but undoubtedly in that time it was used as an instrument in internal conflict. Numerous authors evidenced the negative feelings about the king and his policy, as well as Hungarian noblemen (perceived as rivals for various posts), courtiers and soldiers. Either way, such a reaction to foreigners surrounding the ruler was rather typical for the Polish-Lithuanian controversies around elected kings, and dated back to classical patterns (Aristotle's *Politics*).[84]

Criticism towards Báthory and his countrymen did not cease after his death in 1586, as some polemical writings and debates of the *interregnum* clearly indicate.[85] This debate continued until the early seventeenth century—one can find critical remarks on Báthory in political journalism of the rebellion of 1606–1609—but at the same time a positive narrative emerged.[86] Gradually it prevailed and consequently replaced the earlier debates; in the mid-seventeenth century only minor remarks recalled the negative aspects of Báthory's reign.[87] This shift was caused partly through the influence of historiography, and partly by the growing need to recollect a victorious ruler in the period of wars with Muscovy (1609–1618, 1632–1634 and 1654–1667). Interesting evidence of this process is the "catalogues of the rulers" *(icones*, *imagines*): compact, partly rhymed and frequently illustrated prints, which spread and preserved the popular view of the state's history.[88] The texts were based on major historiographical

[84] *Diariusze sejmowe r. 1585*, 290, 354; Tazbir, "Początki," 377–380 (id., "Ksenofobia," 250–253); Brzeziński, "Tyran," 343–344.

[85] BN Ms II.6607, 2–9 (a dialogue between a foreigner and a Pole on the evaluation of Báthory); *Diariusze sejmowe R. 1587. Sejmy konwokacyjny i elekcyjny* [Records of the 1587 Diets. The convocation and election diet], ed. by A. Sokołowski (Scriptores Rerum Polonicarum, 11) (Cracow 1887), 29–33, 75, 103, 230.

[86] *Pisma polityczne z czasów rokoszu*, 2:69, 428, 435–436, 460; 3:273–274, 280 (see criticism on the king and ennoblement of Hungarians).

[87] Cf. A. Obodziński, *Pandora starożytna monarchów polskich…* [The ancient Pandora of the Polish monarchs…] (Cracow 1640, 1643), 191 (the "unfortunate" solution of the Zborowski affair, the king died without confession).

[88] On the genre in Polish Renaissance and Baroque literature: J. Malicki, "Przemiany gatunkowe renesansowych *icones*" [The changes of the genre of the Renaissance *icones*], in *Legat wieku rycerskiego. Studia staropolskie dawne i nowe* (Katowice 2006), 114–129; M. Janik, "Wśród form popularyzacji historii w XVII wieku" [Among the forms of popularization of history in the 17th century], in

works, and the most popular pieces of the genre started with Clemens Janicius' *Vitae regum Polonorum* (1563) and then was continued by Jan Głuchowski's *Ikones książąt i królów polskich* (Icons of the Polish princes and kings, 1605).[89] Stephen Báthory appeared mainly as a successful warrior king and ruler of a mighty kingdom, who ruled justly and was loved by the serfs (e.g. Sebastian Fabian Klonowic and Jan Achacy Kmita). Short poems were limited only to the military achievements of the king, yet a more detailed image was derived from the Polish translation of Nicolaus Oláh's *Athila* (1574) and the chronicle of Marcin Bielski in its 1597 edition. Attila, in the translated text by Oláh, and Báthory, by Bielski, are both described as handsome and tall men, black-haired, with white teeth and hooked noses. This characteristic was re-used by other authors, so that it shaped the popular image of the king, but also to some extent reflected common representations of a Hungarian, at least of some male physical features. Some analogies from eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Polish diaries and literary fiction show that this portrait remained valid for much longer and could have influenced the perception of Hungarians.[90] A direct reference to Attila had a positive context there and it should not be regarded as an indication of Báthory's tyrannical or despotic nature.[91] The superb appearance of the king supplemented his moral and political virtues: justice, wisdom, bravery and a good command of languages (particularly Lat-

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Staropolskie kompendia wiedzy, ed. by I. M. Dacka-Górzyńska and J. Partyka (Warsaw 2009), 203–224.

[89] C. Janicius, *Vitae regum Polonorum* (Antverpiae 1563); id., *Vitae regum Polonorum elegiaco carmine descriptae* (Cracoviae 1565); J. Głuchowski, *Ikones książąt i królów polskich. Reprodukcja fototypiczna wydania z 1605 r.* [*Icones* of the Polish princes and kings. A photographic reprint of the 1605 edition], ed. by B. Górska (Wrocław 1979) (repr. ed.).

[90] Niewiara, *Wyobrażenia*, 198 (Hungarians as handsome men); A. Sieroszewski, "The Hungarian Stereotype in the Polish Literature of the 19th and 20th centuries," in *Stereotypes and Nations*, 63 (brave, dark-haired, sharp-countenanced Hungarian).

[91] On the parallel between Stephen Báthory and Attila, see A. Zoltán, *Oláh Miklós Athila című munkájának XVI. századi lengyel és fehérorosz fordítása* [The 16th-century Polish and Belarussian translations of *Athila* by Nicolaus Oláh] (Nyíregyháza 2004), 18–19, 235–237; id., "Báthori és Attila" [Báthory and Attila] in *Cirill és Metód példáját követve... Tanulmányok H. Tóth Imre 70. születésnapjára*, ed. by K. Bibok et al. (Szeged 2002), 599–602; Petneki, *Węgry*, 78–83; cf. P. Ács, "Attila-kultusz a Báthory-korban" [The cult of Attila during the rule of the Báthorys], in *Neolatin irodalom Európában és Magyarországon*, ed. by L. Jankovits and G. Kecskeméti (Pécs 1996), 113–119.

in).[92] The influence of Báthory's heroic image was so predominant among authors of the seventeenth century, that it was shared also by those who judged Hungarians unfavourably and expressed ambiguity in their opinion of the king's reign.[93] On the other hand, the sentiment expressed towards the king did not abolish the critical opinion towards Hungarians. It formed a positive *cliché*, which corresponded to the actual needs of creating a shared view of the past.

Conclusion

My overview of the representations of Hungary and Hungarians in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Polish opinion may raise serious doubts regarding the common idea of affirmative Polish–Hungarian relations, almost undisturbed over the centuries. Still, my aim was rather to show how diverse this image could be and how it fitted into various narrative strategies, which depended on contemporary political goals, cultural patterns, formulaic conventions and prejudices. The view of a durable Polish–Hungarian friendship and alliance was based mainly on the rhetoric present in the texts of high politics, like diplomatic speeches or correspondence. No doubt, it affected popular opinion as well, and it should not be neglected, though a broader survey shows the complexity of opinions. They involved notions prevalent in European discourses on Hungary (such as the image of "rebellious" Hungarians or the image influenced by their "Hunnic" genealogy) and those of a specific role in local debates (such as moral admonition or the importance of the perspective of the noble estates). Many of the elements of the image remained valid and could be reused and actualized. Hungary had an important place in political debates, situated closely on the mental map. Hungarians were not classified as enemies, even in periods when hostile attitudes prevailed.[94] However, the country and its inhabitants started to be perceived as one of the "small" lands and as a part of the Habsburg domain (similarly to Bohemia and the Czechs). The attitude towards the dynasty evolved from the predominantly

[92] Cf. T. Zawacki, *Katalog książąt i królów polskich* [Catalogue of Polish princes and kings, 1st ed. 1609], ed. by J. Malicki (Katowice 2004); A. Guagninus, *Kronika Sarmacyey Europskiey* [Chronicle of the European Sarmatia] (Cracow 1611), 195–227; M. Goliński, *Zbiór królów i książąt polskich* [A collection of Polish kings and princes, 1649], Biblioteka Czartoryskich, Kraków, Ms 1320, 46v–48v.
[93] W. Potocki, "Katalog monarchów i królów polskich …" [Catalogue of the Polish monarchs and kings], in J. T. Trembecki, *Wirydarz poetycki*, ed. by A. Brückner, vol. 2 (Lwów 1911), 35–43; Petneki, "Wacław Potocki," 96–98.
[94] Cf. Niewiara, *Wyobrażenia*, 32–34, 41, 200–201.

anti-Habsburg rhetoric in the late sixteenth and in the early seventeenth century, to acceptance of the Habsburgs as the legal suzerain of the country in the second half of the seventeenth century. This perspective shaped the image of Hungarians. Negative opinions became more frequent in the late sixteenth century and did not disappear in the following decades. Nonetheless, this should not be accounted for by inferring a rise in a specific Polish type of xenophobia. The image of Hungarians was influenced to a large extent by the current events and widespread European opinions, with negative views centred on other attributes as well. In Poland-Lithuania, it resulted in an interesting combination of appraisal and disapproval, sympathy and contempt. That is why Hungary could appear as a rich and poor country at the same time, treated with both distance and compassion. Another example from the seventeenth-century account of Jakub Sobieski is indicative: though he did not spare his Hungarian hosts critical remarks and boasts, overall he had a great time, celebrating the feast and setting his irony aside with Hungarian wine.

HUNGARY AND THE HUNGARIANS IN ITALIAN PUBLIC OPINION DURING AND AFTER THE LONG TURKISH WAR

TAMÁS KRUPPA

The image of Hungarians as formed by their Italian contemporaries was comprised of several elements dating as far back as the Middle Ages. One of these, relating to the ferocity of the Hungarians, could be defined in either a positive or negative light, depending on the historical circumstances, the propaganda of the message or simply individual sympathy or antipathy. It can be traced back to the time of the Magyar ninth-and tenth-century raids, but it was rooted also in the fictitious Hun-Magyar kinship, so widely accepted in Western Europe, which went back to the historical memory of Attila, the Wrath of God.[1]

[1] For the negative image of Attila, cf. M. Horlay, "Attila protagonista di melodrami e opere italiani," *Corvina* 21 (1943), 407–421; E. Oszkár, "Attila az olasz hagyományban" [Attila in the Italian tradition], *Budapesti Szemle* 156 (1913), 81–111. For a list of handwritten and printed sources on Attila from the fifteenth until the seventeenth century, including a sixteenth-century Italian poem on the subject, cf. A. Ballagi, "Atilla bibliographiája" [Attila's bibliography], *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények* 2 (1892), 229–269, 379–387, 487–498. See also: *La Hystoria di Atila dicto flagellum Dei* (Venice 1472); and the work of the famous Italian humanist Philippus Callimachus Experiens, *Vita Attilae seu de gestis Attilae* (Tarvisio 1489). In Miklós Oláh's works *Hungaria* and *Attila*, the humanist chancellor and archbishop of Esztergom tried to refine Attila's negative image and reconcile it with the topos of *propugnaculum* in order to support the military campaign against the Ottomans. The former work remained unpublished until the eighteenth century, the latter was an appendix to Antonio Bonfini's work, published by Joannes Sambucus. Cf. A. Bonfini, *Rerum Ungaricarum decades*…, ed. by J. Sambucus (Basel 1568). For a modern edition, see N. Olahus, *Hungaria—Athila*, ed. by K. Eperjessy and L. Juhász (Budapest 1938). On his work, cf. S. Graciotti, "L' 'Athila' di Miklós Oláh fra la tradizione italiana e le filiazioni slave," in *Venezia e Ungheria nel rinascimento*, ed. by V. Branca (Florence 1973), 275–316; A. Carile, "Una 'vita di Attila' a Venezia nel XV secolo," *Venezia e Ungheria*, 369–396. For the development of the Italians' negative image of Hungarians, cf. A. Fest, "I primi rapporti

The positive aspect of this ferocity, also based on historical memory, placed the emphasis on the Hungarians' valour. It is enough to consider the eyewitness accounts of the bravery of the Hungarians sent by King Ladislaus IV to the aid of Habsburg Emperor Rudolf I in the Battle of Marchfield (1278). The *Steirische Reimchronik* commended them highly, feeling it important to remark that the Hungarian commanders wielded their swords in the French style.[2] The German chronicles, conversely, either fell consistently silent or recounted in detractory tones. Another defining element of the image of Hungarians that influenced public opinion for centuries was the notion that Hungary was rich in natural resources and agriculture. These were the observations of the often starving armies—recorded and relayed to Western Europe—crossing Hungary on their return from the Crusades. The country was also said to be rich in precious metals, which was the experience of Italian merchants who came to Hungary with the Anjous. Altogether we can deduce that the image of the Kingdom of Hungary and its inhabitants in the Middle Ages was a complex one, in which positive and negative elements intermingled and were connected in part to the region itself, the land, and in part to the physical traits and character of its inhabitants.

In the final century of the Middle Ages, the new threat of the Ottomans emerged at Europe's borders, more menacing than anything that had come before. It added a new topos, *propugnaculum* or *antemurale Christianitatis* (defence wall or bulwark of Christianity), to the image of Hungarians formed in Western Europe from the fifteenth-century onwards.[3] This was

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della nazione ungherese coll'Italia," *Corvina* 3 (1922), 5–39. For a comprehensive overview of Italians' image of Hungarians, cf. M. Jászay, *A kereszténység védőbástyája – olasz szemmel. Olasz kortárs írók a XV–XVIII. századi Magyarországról* [The bastion of Christianity – from an Italian point of view. Italian contemporary writers on XV–XVIII-century Hungary] (Budapest 1938).

[2] J. Doberdói Breit, *A magyar nemzet hadtörténelme* [The military history of the Hungarian nation], vol. 6 (Budapest 1930), 155; M. Loehr, "Der steirische Reimchronist: her Otacher ouz der Geul," *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 51 (1937), 89. On the chronicle, cf. J.-M. Moeglin, "Recherches sur la Chronique rimée styrienne," *Journal des Savants* 3–4 (1987), 159–179.

[3] The fifteenth-century Italian humanists are usually positive regarding Hungarians, highlighting their valour in the battle against the Ottomans, as well as the richness of their land. King Matthias's patronage is an underlying explanation for this. Cf. T. Kardos, "L'Ungheria negli scritti degli umanisti italiani," *Corvina* 19 (1941), 132–150. In 1526, Johannes Cuspinianus applied the term "bastion" for Hungary as something known and used by everyone. Cf. J. Cuspinianus, "De capta Constantinopoli, et bello adversus Turcas suscipiendo…," in vol. 2 of *Selectissim-*

partly derived from earlier images of Hungarian valour. The notion of *propugnaculum* dominated Western Europe's opinion of the Hungarians for a long time because of the Ottoman threat. However, it should be noted that in Italy, particularly in the Veneto region, the negative image associated with Attila and the Huns (barbarianism) could still be found obstinately present in texts as late as the early sixteenth century.[4] The primary reason for this may have been Venice's conflicts with the Kingdom of Hungary several times throughout the fourteenth century in the Dalmatian harbours; the Republic wanted to monopolise trade on the Adriatic Sea (Golfo) whilst the Hungarian kings sought to profit from local commerce.

The Fifteen Years' War (or Long Turkish War, 1591–1606) changed the picture outlined above in many respects, shifting permanently the attention of the Italian public as regards Hungary. In 1592, Clement VIII, as the newly elected Pope (1592–1605), placed the expulsion of the Ottomans at the heart of his policy and devoted vast sums to its achievement. To this end, he sent no less than three armies to Hungary.[5] As a result, a

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arum orationum et consultationum de bello Turcico variorum et diversorum auctorum volumina quatuor, ed. by N. Reusner (Leipzig 1596), 176–177. For a detailed analysis of the topos in the Hungarian–Polish context, cf. L. Hopp, *Az "antemurale" és a "conformitas" humanista eszméje a magyar–lengyel hagyományban* [The humanist notions of "antemurale" and "conformitas" in the Hungarian–Polish tradition] (Budapest 1992); and the study of Szymon Brzeziński in this volume. For various interpretations of the topos, see M. Imre, *"Magyarország panasza" – A Querela Hungariae toposz a XVI-XVII. század irodalmában* ["Complaint of Hungary" – The Querela Hungariae topos in the sixteenth–seventeenth century literature] (Debrecen 1995), 143–173.

[4] Cf. fn. 1. For later outcomes, cf. V. Polgár, *Magyarország és magyarok a XVII. századi olasz közvéleményben* [Hungary and Hungarians in seventeenth-century Italian public opinion] (Pannonhalma 1942). For a list of sources on the image of Hungary in medieval literature, see E. Csukovits, "Források, műfajok, lehetőségek: a középkori Magyarország–kép elemei" [Sources, genres, possibilities: Elements of the medieval image of Hungary], *Korall* 39 (2009), 5–29.

[5] L. F. Mathaus-Voltolini, "Die Beteiligung des Papstes Clemens VIII. an der Bekampfung der Türken in den Jahren 1592–1595," *Römische Quartalschrift* 15 (1901–1902), 303–326, 410–423; P. Bartl, "'Marciare verso Costantinopoli' – Zur Türkenpolitik Klemens' VIII," *Saeculum* 20 (1969), 44–56; J. P. Niederkorn, *Die europäische Mächte und der "Lange Türkenkrieg" Kaiser Rudolfs II. (1593–1606)* (Vienna 1993), 70–102; G. Brunelli, *Soldati dei papa. Politica militare e nobiltá nello stato della Chiesa (1560–1644)* (Rome 2003), 104–111, M. C. Giannini, *L'oro e la tiara. La costruzione dello spazio fiscale italiano della Santa Sede (1560–1620)* (Bologna 2003), 177–200, 241–270; F. Banfi, "Gianfrancesco Aldobrandini magyarországi hadivállalatai" [Military Ventures of Gianfrancesco Aldobrandini], *Hadtörténelmi Közlemények* 40 (1939), 1–33, 213–228, and vol. 41

great many Italians could be found on Hungarian and Transylvanian battlefields, leaving a vast number of writings, letters, reports and "avvisi".[6] However, we must not forget the other type of texts that are borne of propaganda, besides those of historians, which also reveal informed Italian opinions of the country and its inhabitants. Thus I will use two groups of sources, contemporary diplomatic correspondence and a few publications released during the Fifteen Years' War, in an attempt to illustrate the Italian public opinion of Hungarians at the time, as well as how this picture changed due to the effects of the war.

Despite winning a great victory at Lepanto (1571), Venice was then promptly abandoned by its allies—the Spanish king, the Pope and the Maltese knighthood—and was forced to accept a humiliating peace (1573). At the same time, the attention of the European nations was drawn firstly to the Spanish–Dutch conflict, then the Great Armada, yet the Ottoman War was a constant feature of the daily agenda.[7] In the 1580s, the Holy See was already paying close attention to the plans for a great war against the Ottomans proposed by Stephen Báthory, prince of Transylvania and king of Poland (1576–1586), which included the acquisition of Russia.[8] The *missio*, with the aim of waging a Holy War against infidels

(1940), 143–156; C. Finkel, *The Administration of Warfare: Military Campaigns in Hungary 1593–1606* (Vienna 1988); S. L. Tóth, *A mezőkeresztesi csata és a tizenötéves háború* [The Battle of Mezőkeresztes and the Fifteen Years' War] (Szeged 2000).

[6] For the role of the "avvisis," cf. C. Zwierlein, "Fuggerzeitungen als Ergebnis von Italienischdeutschem Kulturtransfer 1552–1570," *Quellen und Forschungen aus Italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken* 90 (2010), 169–224; M. Infelise, "Gli avvisi di Roma. Informazione e politica nel secolo XVII," in *La corte di Roma tra cinque e Seicento."Teatro" della politica europe*, ed. by G. Signorotto and M. Visceglia (Rome 1998), 189–205; id., "Professione reportista. Copisti e gazzettieri nella Venezia del Seicento," in *Venezia. Itinerari per la storia della città*, ed. by S. Gasparri et al. (Bologna 1997), 193–219; id., *Prima dei giornali. Alle origini della pubblica informazione* (Bari 2002); id., "La circolazione dell'informazione commerciale," in *Commercio e cultura mercantile, Il Rinascimento italiano e l'Europa*, vol. 4, ed. by R. A. Goldthwaite and R. C. Mueller (Treviso 2007), 499–522; id., "From Merchants' Letters to Handwritten Political *avvisi*. Notes on the Origins of Public Information," in *Correspondence and Cultural Exchange in Europe, 1400–1700*, ed. by F. Bethencourt and F. Egmond (Oxford 2007), 33–52.

[7] A. Tamborra, *Gli stati italiani, l'Europa e il problema turco dopo Lepanto* (Florence 1961), 7; D. M. Vaughan, *Europe and the Turk: A Pattern of Alliances, 1350–1700* (Liverpool 1954), 146–175.

[8] The latest work on this is by G. Poumarède, *Il mediterraneo oltre le crociate. La guerra turca nel Cinquecento e nel Seicento tra leggende e realtá*, ed. by F. Ieva (Milan 2011), 237–238.

and converting heretics, was always a part of Roman politics. The death of Báthory and the quick succession of popes, however, meant that the plans were overshadowed until the outbreak of the Fifteen Years' War and the succession of Clement VIII to the throne, the two coinciding to eliminate these previous barriers. Hungary's and Transylvania's wars against the Ottomans brought in thousands of Italian soldiers to fight against the Ottomans, and meanwhile lay their hands on the considerable loot available in the land rich in agriculture. Several Italian princes began turning their attention towards the region as well.

Amongst them were the Gonzagas of Mantova. Duke Vincenzo Gonzaga played an active part in the fight against the Ottomans; in 1595, 1597 and 1601 he appeared in person at the head of his troops.[9] The city archives contain some very interesting records of Gonzaga's plans regarding the governance of the Principality of Transylvania. Thanks to his excellent relations with the Imperial Court and the Holy See, his name came up in connection with the post. The prince of Transylvania, Báthory, ally of the emperor and the pope, became such a source of uncertainty in the war due to his series of resignations and reversals, that he seriously undermined the success of the battles in the Danube Valley. The emperor initially intended his brother, Archduke Maximilian (1601), to take the position of governor of the Principality, however Maximilian withdrew.[10] This is when the Mantovan Duke's name came up, who had the following conditions: he would only take the position of governor if it came with that of captain of Upper Hungary, headquartered in Kassa (Košice), where he could also locate his family and court. To make it more manageable, he also asked that two viceroys be appointed, one to Upper Hungary and one to Transylvania. He had two candidates in mind for the posts, his relative Ferrante Gonzaga for the former and the renowned warlord Giorgio Basta (1550–1607), who had made a name for himself in the Flemish war, for the lat-

[9] V. Errante, "Forse che sí forse che no," *Archivio Storico Lombardo* 42 (1915), 15–114; T. Kruppa, "Tervek az erdélyi kormányzóság megszerzésére 1601-1602-ben. Erdély és a Gonzaga dinasztia kapcsolatai a XVI-XVII. század fordulóján" [Plans to acquire governance of Transylvania in 1601–1602. The relationship between Transylvania and the Gonzaga dynasty at the turn of the seventeenth century], *Hadtörténelmi Közlemények* 115, 2 (2002), 281–308.

[10] For more on Archduke Maximilian's regency plans, see T. Kruppa "Miksa főherceg erdélyi kormányzóságának terve. Az erdélyi Habsburg–kormányzat felállításának kérdéséhez (1597–1602)" [Maximilian's plan for the governance of Transylvania. About the question of installing a Habsburg government in Transylvania, 1597–1602], *Századok* 145, 4 (2011), 817–845.

ter.[11] In the year following September 1601, a recurring motif of the Mantovan reports was the question of the governance of Transylvania, which proves that the matter preoccupied the Duke and his diplomat a great deal.

The emperor, however, was not too keen on the excessive involvement of the Gonzagas. Vincenzo wrote of delaying his visit to Transylvania in his letter of 25 January 1602, saying that he would not visit the province until it was appropriately pacified and its inhabitants had sworn an oath of loyalty. The question of its governance, nevertheless, remained a constant feature of the daily agenda. The extinction of his hopes is indicated by the diminishing mention of the issue of Transylvanian governance in reports from the summer of 1602 onwards. Perhaps this is why the possible candidacy of another member of the Gonzaga family, Francesco Gonzaga of the Castiglioni branch, came up.[12]

There were several reasons for the Gonzagas apparent intense interest in the area. The war against the Ottomans according to contemporary (Catholic) thinking was the duty of every Christian, its slogans could be traced back as far as the Crusades, whilst the struggle was seen as a virtuous knightly duty. The Italian soldiers considered their escapades to Hungary and Transylvania to be a knightly adventure, which is testified to by their calling themselves *venturieri*. The other reason was the uncertain situation of the Duchy: Mantova was a vassal state, lying close to the Spanish Governorate of Milan. Moreover the French influence, through the Duchy of Savoy, could also be felt. It tried to increase its leverage through careful dynastic politics on the one hand, and the acquisition of further lands on the other. The distant, exotic land, rich in agricultural and mineral treasures, naturally piqued the interest of Vincenzo, who also made enquiries about the Polish throne. The Italian courts would have learned of the wealth of Transylvania from the great number of Italian travellers, courtiers and adventurers in the region, amongst them, naturally, the Mantovans.[13] Neither did it escape their attention that the young prince of

[11] Cf. Archivio di Stato di Mantova Archivio Gonzaga [hereafter: ASMn], b. 531 nr. 5. Ambassador Aderbale Manerbio's letter of 7 January 1602, Prague, to Vincenzo Gonzaga repeating the same conditions. ASMn AG b. 481 Lett. di Aderbale Manerbio nr. 2.

[12] Francesco Gonzaga Imperial Chamberlain and Internal Advisor, Special Envoy to Rome (1603), Ambassador of Spain (1611), supporter of the Jesuit and Capuchin orders.

[13] G. C. Bascapé, *Le relazioni fra l'Italia e la Transilvania nel secolo XVI. Note e documenti* (Rome 1931); Polgár, *Magyarország*, op. cit.

Transylvania, Sigismund Báthory, was a great supporter of the Italians, welcoming them to this court with open arms.[14]

Aderbale Manerbio, the Mantovan ambassador, quotes a Mantovan army officer when he writes of the wealth of resources and loot available in the principality, adding that there is strong rivalry among the *venturieri* when it comes to looting.[15] The most expressive account, however, is that of a Silesian author, Vitus Marchtalerus (Veit Marchtaler, 1564–1641). He coined the stereotype so rife in Western Europe when, in his Latin work on Sigismund Báthory's activities, he drew a parallel between the three hills on Transylvania's coat of arms and the seven hills of Rome, that is, between the Scipios and the Báthorys.[16]

The country's wealth was known outside of Mantova too; Zsigmond Báthory despatched a delegation to Rome in 1594. The head of the delegation was Fabio Genga, a family from Urbino in the service of the Báthorys. Fabio was an Italian courtier of the imperial court at Alba Iulia, just like his father Simone, who was a famous architect, and his brothers Flaminio and Gianfrancesco, who served at the papal court. The Gengas were originally in the service of the Medicis and they maintained this relationship from the distant Transylvania. The delegation had an opportunity to present an account, not only of the war, but also of the wealth of the region, to their one-time lords. In February 1595, when Fabio headed back from Rome to escort the hurried papal legate Alfonso Visconti on part of his way to the principality, he conducted negotiations with Grand Duke

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[14] P. Erdősi, "Az itáliai erényekben vétkesnek mondott fejedelem. Az udvari emberek, helyzete, tevékenysége és megítélése Erdélyben Báthory Zsigmond uralkodása idején" [The prince who was guilty of Italian virtues. The situation, activities and opinion of courtiers in Transylvania during the reign of Sigismund Báthory], *Sic itur ad astra* 1–3 (1996), 12–48; M. Szentpéteri, "Il Transilvano. The Image of Zsigmond Báthory in Tommaso Campanella's Political Thought," *Bruniana & Campanelliana* 11 (2003), 217–225.

[15] Archivio di Stato di Mantova (ASMn) Archivio Gonzaga (AG) b. 480 Lett. di Aderbale Manerbio nr. 159.

[16] Cf. V. Marchtalerus, *Rerum a Sigismondo illustrissimo et fortissimo Transylvaniae principe contra turcas gestarum brevis enarratio* (S. l. 1595), B4^{v}–C1^{r}. On the author, cf. K. S. Németh, "Utazások Magyarországon és Erdélyben (Veit Marchtaler: Ungarische Sachen 1588)" [Travels through Hungary and Transylvania. Veit Marchtaler: Ungarische Sachen, 1588], *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények* 106 (2002), 3–24; eadem, "Erdélyi fejedelmi udvar Marchtaler útleírásában" [The court of prince of Transylvania in Marchtaler's travelogue], in *Idővel paloták... Magyar udvari kultúra a 16–17. században* [Palaces in time… Hungarian court life in the 16th–17th centuries], ed. by N. G. Etényi and I. Horn (Budapest 2005), 331–342.

Ferdinando I in Florence. The exact content of their talks is not known, since no records have survived, but a reaction to them is. Giacomo Gerardo, a Florentine resident of Venice, hastened to inform the doge on 22 February that Prince Báthory had made an interesting offer to the Grand Duke Ferdinando, via the Gengas; he had asked for funds to explore unspecified Transylvanian gold and silver mines. After listening to Genga's offer, the grand duke replied that he was willing to invest in the enterprise provided the Fugger family open the mines.[17]

The case was put in the hands of Gaspare Biglia from Milan.[18] Fabio Genga hastened to assure his patron that he would be delighted with Biglia's work. That same day Biglia wrote to Pietro Aldobrandini, the nephew of the Pope, from which it appears that Simone Genga had already been working on the matter with redoubled energy for three months, that is, around the time Fabio left for Rome. Since he was greatly appreciated at court in Alba Iulia, Biglia was confident that he would achieve success. In Rome, they awaited developments with rapt attention: no sooner had the letters arrived than the cardinal responded with a brief note.[19] The significance of the case, however, was not in the mining plans of the Italian courtiers, but in its far-reaching political ramifications.

The fee for working the mine, that is, the amount needed to commence production, presumably came from Aldobrandini, who may have simply offered it from his private fortune. In fact, based on Fabio's previously mentioned letter, it is likely that the pope himself also got involved in the matter to a certain extent. It is not clear, however, exactly what the underlying motivations of the steps taken by the Aldobrandini family were. In the absence of sources, we can only guess, but it seems that the issue of the mines was connected to Transylvania's catastrophic financial state, which was a result of severing all ties with the Ottomans, specifically the loss of duties from the highly lucrative salt trade. Fabio's royal instructions prescribed him to explain to the Holy Father why the salt mines were not working.

Since business matters cannot be separated from political ones, both Cinzio and Gianfrancesco Aldobrandini's names came up in connection

[17] Archivio di Stato di Venezia Senato, Dispacci, Firenze [hereafter: ASV] Filza IX. 161^{r}. The Fuggers handled part of the aid designated to Transylvania. Cf. *Carrillo Alfonz jezsuita–atya levelezése és iratai (1591–1618)* [The correspondence and writings of the Jesuit Alfonzo Carrillo 1591–1618], ed. by E. Veress (Budapest 1906), 188.

[18] ASV Carte Borghese fasc. 56/1. (no number). On Fabio cf. the letter of Flaminio Genga: BAV Capp. lat. Vol. 164. f. 227.

[19] ASV Fondo Borghese III. Vol. 9 Bter, f. 47^{r}–48^{r}.

with the throne of Transylvania. This happened in December 1599, since Prince Báthory's marriage to Archduchess Maria Christierna of Austria was unsuccessful, and the young prince wanted to renounce the throne. The pope's nephews saw a great opportunity in this, especially Gianfrancesco, who, in 1595, 1597 and 1601, was commander of the papal troops sent to Hungary. According to plans, Gianfrancesco would have married Maria Christierna, while the pope would have stood the costs of the handover of power.[20] It seems logical therefore to assume that such a solution would have come up earlier in connection with the third brother, Pietro Aldobrandini, who, as we have seen, had shown an interest in the mines. We could also refer to the example of the Gonzagas cited above.[21]

The principality, rich in mineral treasures, also attracted the attention of the Italian royal courts and the Holy See through another, likewise centuries-old topos *(propugnaculum Christianitatis*). A good example of this was Girolamo Frachetta, who served in Rome, firstly for the French, then the Spanish courts. Frachetta is remembered foremost as a political writer who published several works on methods of good governance and the ideal prince. In the eyes of the Spanish, he became an expert political writer with the publication of his work *Il Principe* in 1597.[22] Between 1594 and 1599 his attention turned to the Fifteen Years' War, to which he dedicated over a dozen works. Of these, his orations addressed to Sigismund Báthory occupy a prominent place. In 1598 he published a collection of works he had originally addressed to Báthory, Emperor Rudolf II and King Philip II of Spain, specifically designed to popularise the Fifteen Years' War, which broke out as a the result of persistent border disputes following 1593. In his preface to *Il Principe*, he writes that he will publish his orations, provided there is enough demand for them.[23] Frachetta is noteworthy because he combined the arguments borne of the military-political situa-

[20] Niederkorn, *Die europäische Mächte*, 98–99; *Documente privitoare la istoria Ardealului, Moldovei si Tării–românesti (1596–1599)*, vol. 5, ed. by A. Veress (Bucharest 1932), 179.
[21] Kruppa, "Tervek," 295–296.
[22] Frachetta is listed in the second line of raison literature alongside writer Ciro Spontone, who wrote about the Fifteen Years' War and the history of Transylvania. Cf. R. Bireley, *The Counter-Reformation Prince: Anti-Machiavellianism or Catholic Statecraft in Early Modern Europe* (London 1989), 50. Cf. E. Baldini, "Girolamo Frachetta informatore politico al servizio della Spagna," in *Repubblica e virtú. Pensiero politico e Monarchia cattolica fra XVI. e XVII. secolo*, ed. by C. Continisio and C. Mozzarelli (Rome 1995), 465–484.
[23] G. Frachetta, *Il primo libro delle orationi* (Rome 1598), preamble.

tion with the centuries-old topoi of Hungary and Hungarians in an extremely interesting manner.

Cartographers were keen to make use of the heightened Western European interest in the region at the beginning of the Fifteen Years' War. Published maps, disregarding accuracy, were primarily designed to attract attention with their pleasing appearance. The names of the Hungarian and Transylvanian settlements testify intriguingly to their depicters' sourcing of Hungarian and Transylvanian travellers and students before going to press. Attempting to follow the Hungarian equivalents, after having largely been misunderstood, the place names are written erroneously.[24] The arc of the Carpathian Mountains, which surrounds Transylvania from north, east and south, must have seemed the obvious natural border to Frachetta and the other Italian writers, providing a natural wall around the principality, protecting it against the Ottomans. In *Discorso del modo di regolar'la guerra d'Ungheria l'anno 1596*, for instance, we learn that since the Ottoman attack would have two likely directions, defences must be set up accordingly. The emperor and his thirty-thousand men must intercept the Ottomans at the border, whilst Báthory from Transylvania would open another front at the enemies' side, then turn towards Constantinople to lure away the main Ottoman forces. Should he suffer defeat, it would not result in catastrophe because Hungary would be saved, while the defeated army could recoup in Transylvania, which was a veritable fortress thanks to the Carpathians. There they could await imperial reinforcements and prepare for the defensive.[25] The described and mapped geographical features of the principality, as being surrounded fortress-like by the Carpathians, bear a remarkable similarity to the concept of *propugnaculum Christianitatis*.[26]

Frachetta reached for the centuries-old topos of a rich and fertile Hungary when he mentioned the country's wealth as a prominent strategic consideration, able to maintain an entire army with its mines laden with gold. The recurrent repetition of this topos throws a harsh light not only on Frachetta and the other Western European writers' (mis)conceptions, but also reveals their intention to make their readership, who had very vague and scant knowledge of the region, understand that the war taking place far from Italy was a common concern for every Christian. The employed topoi helped bring this distant country closer and make it more tangible to

[24] Cf. K. Plihál, "A hollandiai magyar peregrináció emléke a térképeken" [The Dutch–Hungarian peregrination as remembered on maps], *Országos Széchényi Könyvtár Évkönyve 1994–1998* (Budapest 1998), 347–368.
[25] G. Frachetta, *Il primo libro dei discorsi di stato et di guerra* (Rome 1600), 109–110.
[26] Hopp, *Az "antemurale,"* 132–179.

a public hungry for news. At the same time, their continuous inclusion also draws attention to the fact that Transylvanian diplomats turning to Rome for help sensed the sudden increase in interest due to the war and tried to use these several hundred-year-old stereotypes to their own interest.

The portrayed image of Hungary and Transylvania was not positive in every aspect, however, just as in the Middle Ages. The prolonged war was causing the increasing destruction of the population; the unpaid mercenaries looted and rioted, which was unsettling not only the peasants, but also the nobility. Also, since the majority of the troops were foreign—Italians, Germans and Walloons—this antipathy naturally escalated into xenophobia. At the same time, the vast foreign army, unfamiliar with the language, culture, mentality and local conditions, acknowledged with increasing hostility and astonishment that the local community did not see them as liberators or allies but rather as enemies, due to the devastation caused by the war, often expressing these sentiments in action. This was especially true of the Catholic Italians, for whom religious differences—Hungary and Transylvania were at this time Protestant countries with a negligible Catholic population—presented even greater problems. This reinforced the pre-existing negative stereotypes of Hungarians as being barbarian relations of the Huns who had once ravaged Italy. To them, the harshness and savagery of the Huns was confirmed by the behaviour of the Hungarians and Transylvanians.

This opinion was conveyed in one of the particularly interesting letters of Alfonso Visconti, the papal legate in Transylvania.[27] Visconti followed Fabio Genga's delegation to the principality in 1595. Visconti was originally set to go to Poland, however, given Transylvania's geopolitical importance, the war against the Ottomans and the mission to the Orthodox region, it was finally decided to send him to Transylvania instead. He stayed there until 1598, and he was the only papal legate to stay as long, the significance of which is highlighted by the fact that he carried out his mission in a country where there were only a handful of Catholics left, and where the strongest denomination was Antitrinitarian and persecuted throughout Europe. The legate therefore came to know the country well. His above-mentioned letter was dated 30 June 1595, thus recording his first impressions. Here he writes to his colleague Germanico Malaspina, papal legate of Poland (1591–1598), on behalf of a certain Lorenzo Lerici, regretfully saying that his fellow countryman was unable to achieve any measure of success in the otherwise unspecified structure of the court at Alba Iulia, since the Hungarians only appreciate the lance and the sword.

[27] Polgár, *Magyarország*, 36–37.

This remark eloquently reveals that the martial spirit prevailing in Alba Iulia was a far cry from the sophisticated customs and ethos of its Italian counterpart.[28]

Giovanni Botero's popular work *Le relazioni universali* (1597) conveyed a similarly damning opinion to that of Visconti. He writes that the land of Hungary was made beautiful rather by its natural location than by the work of its people.[29] Then, on the same page, we can read in much stronger terms, that the Hungarians are crude, their habits coarse and they are more suited to war than peace. They scorn comfort; they live as foreigners in their cities with the intention of returning to the country as soon as possible. The poor live in huts and badly built houses. Until they marry, they do not sleep in beds, but on mats or on hay. They are strong, proud, changeable, greedy and vindictive. They are not interested in either the arts or commerce.[30] In fact, the author presents the image of the country's wealth in damning, critical tones too. It is beyond dispute that Botero transfers the character flaws and weaknesses of the residents to the region in which they live. To the image of Transylvania as being rich in minerals, he adds that due to all the mercury used to extract precious metals from the mines, the air is unhealthy, while repeated outbreaks of the plague have wreaked havoc. The Székelys, living in the mountains at the eastern tip of Transylvania, defending the borders for centuries, are presented as wild and combative descendants of the Huns.

This is particularly interesting because Botero had first-hand information about the country in 1584 from András Báthory, who headed a delegation arriving in Rome. András, nephew of King Stephen Báthory of Poland, and cousin of Prince Sigismund Báthory of Transylvania, had a mandate firstly to sponsor his own cardinal, and secondly to debate the details of the planned war against the Ottomans. The delegation made an appearance in Milan, too, where the one-time Jesuit Botero met the cardinal in person, to whom he dedicated his work *Dispregio del mondo*. He must have known therefore that the small number of Catholics in Transylvania were those same Székelys whom he had portrayed in a none-too-positive light.[31]

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[28] *Erdély és a Szentszék a Báthory korszakban. Kiadatlan iratok (1574–1599)* [Transylvania and the Holy See in Báthory's time. Unpublished works, 1574–1599], ed. by T. Kruppa (Szeged 2004), 92.

[29] G. Botero, *Le relazioni universali* (Venice 1597), 93.

[30] Ibid.

[31] Sz. Ö. Barlay, *Romon virág. Fejezetek a Mohács utáni reneszánszról* [Flower on the ruin. Chapters from the Renaissance following Mohács] (Budapest 1986), 157–158; I. Horn, *Báthory András* (Budapest 2002), 64–68.

Achille Tarducci, a military engineer, points out another shortcoming in the Hungarian character in his work *Il Turco vincibile*, published in Ferrara in 1600. In his opinion, their greatest flaw, with which they risked their greatest asset in the West, their famed valour, was their discord, which, after two-hundred years of resistance, paved the way for the Ottoman invasion.[32] Tarducci knew the land and its people personally, since he had served in one of its most important border fortresses in Győr, considered the gateway to Vienna. His findings, which reveal his keen eye, are in line with reports of differences between Hungarian Protestants and Catholics, ongoing for half a century. These differences revolved around assigning responsibility for the tragedy at Mohács (1526), the country's downfall and the ensuing anarchy. Was it the fault of the Reformation, or just the opposite, of Catholic idolatry? Both sides, and foreigners, nevertheless, agreed upon one thing, that the main reason for all the tragedies was the anarchy and discord so characteristic of Hungarians.

These condemning findings regarding Hungarian discord were already commented upon before the collapse of the Hungarian state. Penned by another sharp-sighted Italian, the papal legate Giovanni Burgio's crushing opinion of the irresponsible and selfish behaviour of the Hungarians had a profound impact on the Hungarian historiographical tradition of the sixteenth century. In his letter dated 9 August 1525, he writes that if Hungary could be saved from the Ottomans for three florins, you would not be able to find three people to put up the money together.[33] The legate formed his opinion before the Reformation arrived in Hungary, thus there were no denominational concerns yet; his words referred to the comprehensive moral decay of the Hungarians. It is interesting to note that the moralising literature of late medieval Hungary found the Hungarian nobility guilty of exactly the same sin: having grown unfaithful to their original vocation, instead of protecting their country and people, they were preoccupied with fighting against each other while their peasants suffered.[34] This topos can be identified in the literature of several nations of the period, though the one fundamental difference for Hungary was that its medieval government collapsed following defeat at the Battle of Mohács, being literally divided into three parts. No other contemporary European state suffered comparable shocks with the exception of the Balkans. This is the reason why the need to find the causes of the catastrophe and those responsible erupted with such elemental force. The answer was formed using rhetorical pat-

[32] A. Tarducci, *Il Turco vincibile* (Ferrara 1600), 86.
[33] *Relationes oratorum pontificorum 1524—1526*, ser. 2, vol. 1 (Budapest 1884; reprint 2001), 255.
[34] J. Szűcs, *Nemzet és emlékezet* [Nation and memory] (Budapest 1984), 557–599.

terns that had been known since antiquity: comprehensive moral decay and discord, to which the Reformation added a new rhetoric of idolatry, the Roman Antichrist, etc.

Some years later Ciro Spontoni, another Italian witness, formulated his criticism, much like Burgio and Tarducci. Spontoni was in the service of the Mantovan prince, dedicating his 1602 work, *Attioni del re d'Ungaria*, to Vincenzo's relative, Francesco Gonzaga.[35] Clearly this was a contributing factor to the fact that he arrived in Transylvania in 1601, precisely the period under discussion, where he was secretary to Giorgio Basta for about a year. The eminent Bolognaise historian, making use of the opportunities afforded by Basta, began a wide search for materials, the result of which was the *Attioni*, as well as his work *Historia della Transilvania*, published posthumously in 1638.[36] As Basta's secretary, Spontoni did a thorough job. Not only did he visit all the sites of the themes he wrote about, but he also used written sources and interviewed witnesses of the events. His *Attioni*, the subject of which was Hungarian history from the time of Attila until King Rudolf I, provided first-hand information, primarily on Transylvania, to Italian readers. In the dedication, he emphasised that he had collected the events of 1,200 years of Hungarian history so that Francesco could recognise Rudolf's great successes achieved in the war against the Ottomans and, like the kings of Hungary, he would choose faith as his guiding star, as befitting a good leader of the state. Spontoni considered the history of Hungary to be an example of the Crusade against heretics and infidels, interpreting the appearance of the Ottomans as divine punishment visited upon the Hungarians. As Basta's secretary and a faithful Catholic, he witnessed the general's struggle against the Transylvanian Protestants.

The general's task was to provide for the military government of the principality and create conditions conducive to civilian rule, originally for Archduke Maximilian; however, since his trip and the Gonzagas' plans fell through, the general himself remained the real governor of the principality. Basta had a lot of problems with the Transylvanian nobility which, as I have already mentioned, was fundamentally Protestant and against the war. Seeing the ineffectiveness of the war, they considered themselves exempt from their oaths of loyalty to the emperor and contacted their old lord, Sigismund Báthory, and through him the Porte. This meant treachery, not only to the emperor, but also to all the Italians serving in the imperial

[35] For letters cf. ASMn, AG, b. 533, Lett. di Lelio Arrivabene nr. 2 and b. 484. Diversi nr. 105–110. C. Spontoni, *Attioni di re d'Ungaria* (Bologna 1602). His works are presented by Jászay, *A kereszténység*, 159–164, 166–167.

[36] C. Spontoni, *Historia della Transilvania* (Venice 1638).

troops stationed in Transylvania. The imperial administration wanted to prevent this by ordering Basta to take up arms against the Transylvanian nobility, envisioning a change in the ethnic and religious mix of the region. In a plan from 1603, the imperial commissioners sent to Transylvania recommended that, in the interests of pacifying the region, they must settle German Catholics there.[37]

Spontoni blamed the destruction of the principality not on the prolonged war or the devastation of the mercenaries but on the Transylvanians' heresy and feuding nature. He makes this clear right from the beginning of his work, when he sets out in detail that the reason for the destruction of Transylvania is divine punishment, which plagues the residents of the province because they are heretics persecuting the Catholic faith.[38] A few lines down he highlights another adverse attributes of the Transylvanians, their division and constant discord, which he believes is the reason for the status quo.[39]

His works were known to István Szamosközy (1570–1612), a Transylvanian historian who studied in Padua and who was familiar with the *Attioni* not long after its publication, which proves the closeness and vivacity of the literary relationship between Italy and Transylvania. Szamosközy, who was a Calvinist, did not have a high opinion of Spontani's work. This is understandable given the above-mentioned quotes, despite condemning war between religions on the grounds that he was a humanist. At one point he mentions the Bolognaise historian by name, whom he condemns for his credulity in giving credence to rumours and deliberately spreading lies about Transylvania and the Hungarians in his work.[40]

Spontoni's work is particularly important because, as an eyewitness, his "diagnosis" that the country's current state was caused by the infidelity and division of the Hungarians, that is, their unreliability, reflected not only the author's personal opinion but also that of a great many Italian soldiers and civilians in the region. His work conveyed this image to the Italian public.

The royal dynasty was not spared the damning criticism bestowed upon the region's residents, nor were the Báthorys, despite Báthory's victory in Wallachia, which received huge exposure, and the publicists of the papal courts—amongst others the above-mentioned Frachetta—playing their

[37] *Monumenta comitialia regni Transsylvaniae*, vol. 5 *(1601–1607)*, ed. by S. Szilágyi (Budapest 1879), 45.
[38] Spontoni, *Historia*, 2–3.
[39] Ibid., 3.
[40] I. Szamosközy, *Erdély története (1598–1599, 1603)* [History of Transylvania 1598–1599, 1603], ed. by I. Sinkovics (Budapest 1981), 269.

part in promoting it.[41] The prince, however, renounced the throne due to his unsuccessful marriage in 1598, the emperor's failure to provide material and military aid and the hostile policy of Poland. Contemporaries who had access to behind-the-scenes information put his renunciation—which was extremely rare at the time, particularly in countries at war—down to the prince's unstable character rather than extenuating circumstances. His decision not only endangered his country, but also put the coalition against the Ottomans in a very difficult position. This was probably the reason for the emerging propaganda against the prince. Unfortunately, no work has ever been published on the matter to this day, although we can infer its existence from the work of the prince's one-time secretary Giorgio Tomasi, *La Batorea*, published in Conegliano in 1609.[42] The aim of *La Batorea* was to clarify Báthory's reasons for renouncing the throne and divorcing Archduchess Maria Christierna,[43] meanwhile presenting the family history in detail, their martial virtues and glorious achievements in the interests of Catholicism and their country. To this end, Tomasi emphasises the fact that Báthory was not a descendant of Batu Khan (Tomasi calls him Batho), that is, the Mongol leader who invaded Europe and devastated Hungary, but of Batho, King of Pannonia, as written by Antonio Bonfini, who fought alongside Attila and the Huns to conquer the country. It is not difficult to identify the previously mentioned stereotypes of savagery and barbarianism in his words. To these we can add the image of the Hungarians and the Transylvanians' feuding, factious, rebellious behaviour and damning opinions of their unreliability, which, besides barbarianism, was put down to their heresy. It is interesting to note that unreliability, or if we want to put it another way, treachery, was an accusation levelled at the Transylvanians in light of political events by their contemporary compatriots, the Hungarians, as well. This clearly had religious (denominational) reasons. As a result of the revolt against the Habsburgs led by Stephen Bocskai, prince of Transylvania (1605–1606), Italian and Catholic opinion of the Hungarians, formed through the experiences of the Fifteen Years' War, worsened compared to its medieval precursor.

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[41] For the military campaigns and the royal propaganda campaigns, cf. T. Kruppa, "Fiktion und Wirklichkeit. Der Feldzug in die Walachei (1595) und die fürstliche Propaganda," *Ungarn Jahrbuch* 30 (2009–2010), 43–55.

[42] G. Tomasi, *La Batorea* (Conegliano 1609).

[43] On the divorce, see E. Zingerle, "Maria Christierna Principessa di Transilvania e Arciduchessa di Innerösterreich. Il suo matrimonio di solo quattro anni," in *Gli archivi della Santa Sede e il regno d'Ungheria (secc. 15–20). In memoriam di Lajos Pásztor*, ed. by G. Platania et al. (Budapest–Rome 2008), 35–50.

The Italian opinion of the Hungarian character and the country in the Middle Ages was, as we have seen, neither positive nor negative. The Fifteen Years' War was the first experience of the Italians not borne of literary works but of first-hand concrete experiences, since throughout the war, tens of thousands of Italians appeared in the region. This meant that masses of ordinary Italian soldier and individuals could convince themselves of the truth or falseness of those stereotypes of the Hungarians and Hungary that had existed in Italian public opinion since the early centuries of the Middle Ages, and which were previously formed and conveyed by diplomats, artists, writers and poets. This meeting of cultures basically resulted in an unfavourable change in those stereotypes. Religion played a decisive role in this since the Italians were Catholics and Hungary was a Protestant country. An essentially negative image was conveyed by contemporary correspondence and publications, the authors of which also visited Hungary in person, thus recording their own personal experiences. According to them, the Hungarians were valiant, but they also carried the savagery and barbarianism inherited from the Huns, causing their moral demise; their downfall came from their discord, unreliability, inconstancy and heresy, which a contemporary Catholic writer could not but interpret as the indisputable sign of moral levelling. The consequence of these sins was divine punishment, that is, the downfall of the country and the Ottoman occupation. The final, decisive moment in the forming of these condemnatory opinions was the Bocskai revolt, following which public opinion not only in Italy but in Western Europe (and not just the Catholic parts) unequivocally turned negative. This set the stereotype associated with Hungarians (naturally including Transylvanians), according to which they essentially had betrayed the cause of Christianity and thus had come under Ottoman servitude. Hungarians were then considered to be constantly inclined to revolt, likely to turn against and betray higher authority, as well as being an uneducated and uncultured people. These negative stereotypes further gained constant ammunition from the Habsburgs' anti-Hungarian propaganda.

THE PERCEPTION OF THE MEDIEVAL KINGDOM OF HUNGARY-CROATIA IN CROATIAN HISTORIOGRAPHY (1500–1660)

IVA KURELAC

Introduction

The main purpose of this study is to examine how Croatian historiography of the Renaissance and early modern period perceived the medieval Kingdom of Hungary-Croatia and the role this image played in constructing the political identity of the Croatian lands.[1] The historical works of Ludovicus Cerva Tubero (Ludovik Crijević Tuberon), Mauro Orbini (Mavro Orbini), Dominicus Zavoreus (Dinko Zavorović) and Georgius Rattkay (Juraj Rattkay), who were either prominent members of the clergy or noblemen, will provide the basis for this study. This choice of authors aims to cover the widest possible time range, that is, the period from the beginning of the sixteenth to the mid-seventeenth century. In addition, by taking into account the development of historiographical methodology, as well as the development of the historical-political ideology underlying the work of the aforementioned authors, we will try to prove how and why the perception of the medieval Kingdom of Hungary changed during that period. Taking into account the context of wider political and historical circumstances in Central and South-East Europe, the authors' attitudes towards this issue will be analysed from the standpoint of the political influence of the royal court, the Venetian Republic and the Ottoman Empire on Croatian lands.

[1] For more on the issue of the early modern nation and national identity, see P. Burke, "The uses of Italy," in *The Renaissance in the National Context*, ed. by R. Porter (Cambridge 1992), 13–18; Z. Blažević, *Ilirizam prije ilirizma* [Illyrism before Illyrism] (Zagreb 2008), 114. For more on the issue of composite kingdoms in medieval Europe, see D. Waley and P. Denley, *Late Medieval Europe 1250–1520* (Harlow 2001), 4–7.

Croatian historiography at the beginning of the Renaissance

Croatian historiographical production of the Renaissance and early modern period was thematically and ideologically largely oriented towards the interpretation of historical and political events of the medieval period (from the end the eleventh century to the first quarter of the fifteenth century), when all Croatian lands (including its both major constituent parts of Dalmatia and Croatia *stricto sensu*) were politically bound to the Kingdom of Hungary.[2] The political reality in the period of Renaissance was quite different from the former period. The Ottomans conquered large parts of the kingdom after 1526, and after the death of the last Jagiellonian king, Louis II in 1526, the Habsburgs were elected as the kings of Hungary and Croatia, which resulted in the moving of the political centre outside the country—to Vienna and Prague. Though Hungary and Croatia both retained their own political institutions (first of all, their diets), the final effect of this situation was that in this period the political life only partly took place within Hungary and Croatia.[3] Moreover, the European Renaissance and early modern period were fundamentally vexed with deep social and political crises. Frequent warfare with disastrous economic consequences and depopulation were among the crucial issues of the first half of the fifteenth century. Thus, the already difficult conditions caused by famine, plague and colder weather, resulting in climatic deterioration (the so-called little ice age), worsened even more.[4] There was further dissention and antagonism between certain European states, which grew stronger as a result of their inability to find an adequate solution for a joint anti-Ottoman political action. All these circumstances affected the Croatian lands even more severely, consequently influencing the Croatian historiog-

[2] T. Raukar, *Hrvatsko srednjovjekovlje* [The Croatian Middle Ages] (Zagreb 1997), 57–8; L. Kontler, *Povijest Mađarske: Tisuću godina u srednjoj Europi* [History of Hungary: A thousand years in Central Europe] (Zagreb 2007), 69–71, orig. Eng. ed.: *A History of Hungary: Millennium in Central Europe* (London 2002); B. Trencsényi and M. Zászkaliczky, "Towards an Intellectual History of Patriotism," in *Whose love of which country? Composite States, National Histories and Patriotic Discourses in Early Modern East Central Europe*, ed. by B. Trencsényi and M. Zászkaliczky (Leiden 2010), 46.

[3] Kontler, *Povijest Mađarske*, 148–50; I. Jurković, *The Fate of the Croatian Noble Families in the Face of Ottoman Advance* (Ph.D. diss., Central European University, Budapest 2004), 56–8.

[4] Waley–Denley, *Late Medieval Europe*, 93–8.

raphy of that time.[5] The ruinous effect of these events, particularly that of Ottoman conquests, became fully evident in the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries, during the so-called *plorantis Croatiae saecula duo*, when the Croatian lands faced the heavy territorial losses of Lika, Krbava, Slavonia and southern Croatia.[6]

One should first consider the key political circumstances of the early modern period to understand better the historical and political mechanisms which most affected historians' interpretations of the medieval Kingdom of Hungary-Croatia. Exposed to the territorial and political pretensions of three powerful political forces in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries—the Hungarian Kingdom, the Venetian Republic and the Ottoman Empire—the Croatian lands were in a state of intense political instability and anarchy, stagnating socially and economically, as well. From the mid-fifteenth century, it was principally the Ottoman expansion that led to political destabilisation, which the Croatian lands resolutely opposed from the very beginning, after the fall of Bosnia in 1463.[7] Another turning point was the Battle of Krbava in 1493, when the Ottomans critically defeated the Croatian army and the most distinguished members of Croatian nobility perished (counts Frankapan, Zrinski, Blagajski, Ban Imre Derencsényi's son and many others), while the ban of Croatia (viceroy) and many others were imprisoned. Franciscan friar Ivan Tomašić in his *Chronicon breve regni Croatiae* (sixteenth century) described this event as "the first downfall of the Croatian Kingdom."[8] After these events, the Croatian nobility intensified their efforts to stop further Ottoman attacks, simultaneously beseeching Christian Europe for help, calling themselves *antemurale Christianitatis.* The defence against the Ottomans was not exclusively a Croatian issue during this period, with similar efforts and ideologies present in Hungary

[5] M. Kurelac, "Croatia and Central Europe during the Renaissance and Reformation," in *Croatia and Europe: Croatia in the Late Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, vol. 2, ed. by I. Supičić (London and Zagreb 2008), 41, 55.

[6] The term itself originates from the poem *Plorantis Croatiae saecula duo* by Pavao Ritter Vitezović (1652–1713) a nobleman and polymath from Senj. "Paulli Vitezovich Plorantis Croatiae seculi I et II," in *Izvadci iz kalendara latinskih zagrebačkih: Calendarium Zagrebiense* [The excerpts from Zagreb Latin calendars: Calendarium Zagrebiense] (Zagreb 1703), s. p.; Z. Blažević, "Plorantis Croatiae saecula duo: Discursive Adaptations and Performative Functions of the Baroque 'stabat mater' Topos," in *Passion, Affekt und Leidenschaft in der Frühen Neuzeit*, ed. by J. A. Steiger (Wiesbaden 2005), 929–39.

[7] M. Kurelac, "Croatia and Central Europe," 41–44, 51; Raukar, "Croatia within Europe," 2:7, 13.

[8] A. Nazor and Z. Ladić, *Povijest Hrvata: Ilustrirana kronologija. History of Croatians: Illustrated chronology* (Zagreb 2003), 142.

and Poland too.[9] On the other hand, almost parallel to the first Ottoman attacks, the Croatian lands became even more disunited by the political encroachments of the Venetian Republic upon Dalmatian territory, which by 1420 lead to the subordination of all Dalmatian cities to the Venetian state, except for the city of Ragusa (Dubrovnik).[10] At the beginning of the sixteenth century, the royal court lost its political weight among the Croatian nobility due to its indecisive participation in the anti-Ottoman alliance during the Venetian-Ottoman war of King Ladislaus II (1490–1516), the influence of the Venetian Republic meanwhile increasing.[11] As a result, in spite of intense military actions as well as the diplomatic and political engagement of the Croatian nobility, the territory of the Croatian Kingdom began to decrease in size from the fifteenth century, and by the mid-sixteenth century a larger part of Croatian lands (Lika, Krbava, Slavonia and southern Croatia) had been conquered by the Ottomans. Consequently, in the 1561, the Croatian Diet called the remaining parts of the free territory "the relics of the Kingdom of Croatia" (*Reliquiae reliquiarum olim inclyti Regni Croatiae*).[12]

Despite such difficult political and historical circumstances, at the beginning of the Renaissance, intellectuals of the urban centres of Croatia

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[9] I. Jurković, "Knez Bernardin Frankapan i njegovo doba" [Count Bernardin Frankapan and his times], in *Bernardin Frankapan Modruški, Oratio pro Croatia: Govor za Hrvatsku (1522)* (Modruš 2010), 34–35. The term *antemurale Christianitatis* was used for the first time in the letters that the Croatian ruling classes sent from the assembly in Bihać to Pope Alexander VI and to the German Emperor Maximilian in 1494, and after the defeat in the Battle of Krbava, in order to attain help from Europe in the defence against the Ottomans. Later on the term itself was accepted by the Pope Leo X and the Emperor Ferdinand. M. Kruhek, *Krajiške utvrde i obrana Hrvatskog Kraljevstva tijekom 16. stoljeća* [Fortresses of the military border and the defence of the Croatian Kingdom in the sixteenth century] (Zagreb 1995), 49–53. On the international context, see also: M. Imre, "Der ungarische Türkenkrieg als rhetorisches Thema in der frühen Neuzeit," in *Deutschland und Ungarn in ihren Bildungs- und Wissenschaftsbeziehungen während der Renaissance*, ed. by W. Kühlmann and A. Schindling (Stuttgart 2004), 93–109; Kontler, *Povijest Mađarske*, 151.

[10] T. Raukar, "La Dalmazia e Venezia nel basso medioevo," in *Venezia e Dalmazia*, ed. by U. Israel and O. J. Schmitt (Rome and Venice 2013), 70; Kurelac, "Croatia and Central Europe," 42.

[11] T. Raukar, "Hrvatska na razmeđu 15. i 16. st." [Croatia at the turn of the sixteenth century], *Senjski zbornik* 17 (1990), 7–9.

[12] Document 49, 15 May 1562, in "Acta comitialia regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae Slavoniae – Hrvatski saborski spisi III," in *Monumenta spectantia historiam Slavorum meridionalium*, vol. 39, ed. F. Šišić (Zagreb 1916), 90–99; Raukar, "Croatia within Europe," 7; Kurelac, "Croatia and Central Europe," 49.

and Dalmatia were increasingly integrated into the *respublica litterarum* (Republic of Letters). Consequently, men of letters started to take significant part in the political and diplomatic efforts to acquire effective help for the Croatian lands in defence against the Ottomans, but these requests for help mostly did not meet an adequate reaction in Europe. Due to the nearness of the Italian Renaissance centres, a humanist knowledge and worldview spread early in the Croatian lands, thus the first indications of this new cultural phenomenon started to show as early as the end of the fourteenth century.[13] This very intense flourishing of the Croatian intellectual elite introduced all the relevant coursings of the European Renaissance into the Croatian lands. The intellectual boom was thus in evident contrast to the grave political crisis and state of deterioration.[14]

It should be no wonder that along with all well-known characteristics of European humanism, Croatian humanism developed two specific characteristics which can easily be detected in most of the works of the time: an anti-Ottoman attitude and a distinct Christian spirit, which appeared either in form of religious and moral prose or Christian poetry, with an ideological agenda to protect European *Christianitas* from further decline caused by Ottoman attacks.[15] Historiography, as an important part of the *studia humanitatis*, served Croatian humanists as an ideal platform for constructing ideological agendas, oriented towards the question of self-identification of Croats as Slavs, as well as defining their position towards the Kingdom of Hungary, the Venetian Republic and the Ottoman Empire.[16] In the Renaissance and early modern period, Croatian historians'

[13] For more details, see: D. Novaković, "Latinsko pjesništvo hrvatskoga humanizma" [Latin poetry of Croatian Humanism], in *Marko Marulić: Hrvatski latinsti*, ed. by Z. Diklić (Zagreb 1994), 60.

[14] Raukar, "Hrvatska na razmeđu 15. i 16. st.," 12–13; B. Glavičić, "Hrvatski latinisti-humanisti na razmeđu XV/XVI. stoljeća" [Croatian Latinists and humanists at the turn of the sixteenth century], *Senjski zbornik* 17 (1990), 66.

[15] P. O. Kristeller, "The European Diffusion of Italian Humanism," *Italica* 39 (1962), 1–20; R. Black, "The Renaissance and Humanism: Definitions and Origins," in *Renaissance Historiography*, ed. by J. Woolfson (New York 2005), 97–105; M. Kurelac, "Hrvatski humanisti rane renesanse: Hrvatska i Ugarska predkorvinskog doba" [Croatian humanists of the early Renaissance: Croatia and Hungary in the period before Matthias Corvinus], *Croatica Christiana Periodica* 19, no. 11 (1987), 95, 104; B. Glavičić, "Latinism in Croatia from the 13th to the 16th century," in *Croatia and Europe*, 2:408; Novaković, "Latinsko pjesništvo hrvatskoga humanizma," 67–68.

[16] M. B. Petrovich, "Croatian Humanists and the Writing of History in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries," *Slavic Review* 37 (1978), 624–639; R. Black,

perception of the medieval Kingdom of Hungary-Croatia was often ambivalent; in their narratives and interpretations, they vary between pro-Hungarian and anti-Hungarian positions in their attitude towards the Hungarian king, nobility and politics in general. In the following sections we will analyse the motives for such historiographical attitudes in the examples of a few prominent works of Croatian historiography from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

The Ragusan historiographical circle: Ludovicus Cerva Tubero and Mauro Orbini

A particular place in our discussion belongs to historians from the city of Ragusa. The pro-Hungarian attitude of the Ragusan government should be interpreted within the context of the position that the city-state of Ragusa acquired in the period of the rule of the Angevins (1301–1409), more precisely, after 1358 when the city acknowledged the political authority of King Louis I of Anjou (1342–1382). Among the crucial reasons for such an attitude was the fact that from the mid-fourteenth century the Republic of Ragusa, due to the loyalty of the Ragusan governors towards the Hungarian Crown, achieved a high level of political and economic prosperity, autonomy and continuity of power, which made its position significantly different from the position of other Dalmatian communes.[17] In spite of that, it seems that later on, within the Ragusan Renaissance historiographical circle, the perception of the medieval Kingdom of Hungary-Croatia changed and came to be informed by the position of the Croatian people and the Croatian nobility within the kingdom and their common Slavic identity. Historiographical works by two prominent Ragusan humanists, Ludovicus Cerva Tubero and Mauro Orbini, offer good arguments for such statement.

"Humanism," in *The New Cambridge Medieval History c. 1415–c. 1500*, vol. 7, ed. by C. Allmand (Cambridge 1998), 257–258.

[17] Z. Janeković Römer, *Okvir slobode: Dubrovačka vlastela između srednjovjekovlja i humanizma* [The frame of freedom: Ragusan nobility between the Middle Ages and humanism] (Zagreb and Dubrovnik 1999), 77–78; Z. Pešorda Vardić, "Kruna, kralj i grad: odnos Dubrovnika prema ugarskoj kruni i vladaru na početku protudvorskog pokreta" [The crown, the king and the town: The relation of the Dubrovnik community toward the crown and ruler at the beginning of the movement against the court], *Povijesni prilozi* 26 (2004), 24–25; L. Kunčević, "O dubrovačkoj *libertas* u kasnom srednjem vijeku" [On Ragusan *libertas* in late Middle Ages], *Anali Dubrovnik* 46 (2008), 14–16.

What could have been the reason behind the interpretation of the political role and image of the medieval Kingdom of Hungary-Croatia among the Ragusan Renaissance historians? How can we explain the historiographical focus of Tubero and Orbini? One should look for an answer in the historical-political changes of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries that gravely weakened the political power of the kingdom. After the fall of Belgrade in 1521 and the Battle of Mohács in 1526, when the young King Louis II (reigning 1516–1526) died, the independent Kingdom of Hungary literally came to an end.[18] The fall of the medieval Kingdom of Hungary inevitably had severe repercussions on the situation of the Croatian lands. Consequently, in the sixteenth century, due to the imminent Ottoman threat, the official politics of the city-state of Ragusa became more cautious about expressing its loyalty to the Hungarian Crown, since its political status and survival also depended on collaboration with the Ottomans.[19] On the other hand, the process of the political disintegration of the medieval Croatian lands, which began during King Matthias Corvinus's rule (1458–1490), undoubtedly lessened the importance of Hungarian rule and the kingdom, being replaced with a greater interest in the ideological and political self-determination of the Slavs.[20]

Ludovicus Cerva Tubero, a Benedictine friar from Ragusa, tried to give an objective and neutral picture of the political turmoil in the Kingdom of Hungary-Croatia between 1490 and 1522, that is, the period that followed the death of his contemporary King Matthias Corvinus, in his work *Commentarii de temporibus suis*.[21] It was written in the first half of the 1520s, but published only in 1603 in Frankfurt.[22] One can recognise two main imagological aspects regarding the medieval kingdom in Tubero's work: the first one is focused on the political entity, Hungary-Croatia itself, and the second one is oriented towards the perception of an ethnic entity, the Hungarians. By intertwining these two subjects, Tubero, in a typical humanist manner, constructs the image of the kingdom as the *antemurale Christianitatis*, emphasizing its role in the internal stability of the Croatian lands. In the process of creating such an image, Tubero emphasises the

[18] J. Bak, "Hungary: Crown and Estates," *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, 707.
[19] Römer, *Okvir slobode*, 80.
[20] B. Grgin, "The Center and the Periphery: Medieval Croatia in the Realm of King Matthias Corvinus," *Radovi: Zavod za hrvatsku povijest* 44 (2012), 204.
[21] Ludovik Crijević Tuberon, Ragusa, 1458–Ragusa, 1527.
[22] V. Rezar, "Uvodna studija: Latinitet Ludovika Crijevića" [Introduction: The Latinity of Ludovicus Cerva], in *Ludovik Crijević Tuberon: Komentari o mojem vremenu* (Zagreb 2001), xli–xlii; Raukar, *Hrvatsko srednjovjekovlje*, 385–386.

Hungarians' devotedness to Christianity ("The Hungarians [...] were inherently hostile towards the Ottomans and most dedicated to Christianity"), and justifies their barbarian features through reference to their Scythian origin.[23]

Further analysis of the content of Tubero's *Commentarii* reveals additional motives for such a stress on the image of Hungary-Croatia as *antemurale Christianitatis.* The specific focus on King Matthias Corvinus and the tradition of the Hungarian Crown was mostly due to Tubero's animosity towards the Venetians and the Ottomans, and very likely the influence of the famous cultural circle surrounding Matthias Corvinus on Croatian humanists, including Tubero himself.[24] Yet the most important reason for such a historiographical approach was likely the fact that Tubero perceived Hungary-Croatia as his homeland and the Hungarian-Croatian kings as the rightful rulers, who had lawfully inherited their power over the Croatian lands.[25]

In spite of these views, Tubero's historiographical image of the medieval Kingdom of Hungary-Croatia was not unvarying in its pro-Hungarian attitude. Another, more critical side of Tubero's interpretation of Hungary-Croatia surrounded the position of the Croatian lands within it. It is significant that when writing about the political situation of the kingdom, Tubero is rather critical, particularly towards the level of political rights of Dalmatian and Croatian noblemen. Thus, he points out, for example, that only Hungarian noblemen and bishops had an exclusive right to vote at the diet of Hungary, which is in fact erroneous, since the Croatian nobility was accepted as a part of the kingdom and were not treated as foreigners.[26]

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[23] *Hungari […] Turcis per se essent infensi et Christiano nomini deditissimi*. L. Tubero, *Commentarii de temporibus suis*, ed. by V. Rezar (Zagreb 2001), 165; D. Dukić, "Ugrofilstvo u hrvatskoj književnosti ranoga novovjekovlja" [Hungarophilia in Croatian early modern literature], in *Kulturni stereotipi: Koncepti identiteta u srednjoeuropskim književnostima*, ed. by D. Oraić Tolić and E. Kulcsár Szabó (Zagreb 2006), 96–97.

[24] Rezar, "Uvodna studija: Latinitet Ludovika Crijevića," xxix–xxxii; Glavičić, "Hrvatski latinisti-humanisti," 99.

[25] *Neque enim Dalmatae, ui aut armis coacti, sed cognationis iure in Hungaricam concessere ditionem.* ("And Dalmatians […] were not forced by arms to obey Hungarian power, but by the means of consanguineous law") Ludovicus Tubero, *Commentarii de temporibus suis*, 100.

[26] L. Tubero, *Commentarii de temporibus suis*, 12. For the context of Hungarian late medieval parliamentarism, see more in: J. Bak, *Königtum und Stände in Ungarn im 14.-16. Jahrhundert* (Wiesbaden 1973); M. Rady, *Nobility, Land and Service in Medieval Hungary* (London 2000); L. Péter, *Hungary's Long Nineteenth Century: Constitutional and Democratic Traditions in a European Perspective.*

Such an ambivalent approach can be considered fitting to an ideological agenda common to many Croatian humanists: On the one hand, they often perceived Hungary as their homeland, remaining loyal to the Hungarian court in Buda, which they regarded as the principle propagator of the *antemurale Christianitatis*, and with which they had intense cultural connections. On the other hand, their interpretation of the historical role of Hungary-Croatia was also largely influenced by their growing urge to define the political identity of the Croatian lands as well as to focus on the rights and privileges of its inhabitants under the Hungarian Crown.[27]

In the first half of the sixteenth century, the internal political crisis in the Croatian lands reached its climax. The consequences of the Battle of Mohács were worsened by the internal political turmoil of two pretenders struggling for the Hungarian throne. The Croatian nobility was divided in two factions, one elected Archduke Ferdinand of Habsburg (1527–1564) as the king of Croatia at the diet in Cetin in January 1527; another recognised King John Szapolyai (1526–1540) as the king of Hungary-Croatia at the diet in Dubrava at the same time. The nobility of Hungary elected the same candidates slightly earlier, Ferdinand at the diet of Pressburg in December 1526 and John Szapolyai at the diet of Székesfehérvár as early as November 1526.[28] The civil war between the aforementioned parties was a result of their ambivalent political approach, in which the first party preferred the Habsburgs, expecting them to act more efficiently against the Ottomans, while the second one preferred Szapolyai as representative of domestic interests (encouraged by the example of the election of King Matthias Corvinus about seventy years earlier).[29]

Later on, in the seventeenth century, the historiographical focus of Croatian humanists understandably changed, and became more involved in the question of the origin and unity of the Slavs. Such topics are particularly dominant in the work *Il Regno de gli Slavi* (Pesaro, 1601) by Mauro Orbini, a Ragusan Benedictine friar, which is considered to be the most complete presentation of the seventeenth-century Illyrian ideologeme.[30] Even though the image of the medieval Kingdom of Hungary was not a crucial topic for the pan-Slavist Orbini, Tubero's influence is evident in some places in his work. Following Tubero, Orbini accepts the premise

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Collected Studies (Leiden 2012). On Croatian nobility, see Jurković, "The Fate of the Croatian Noble Families."

[27] Dukić, "Ugrofilstvo u hrvatskoj književnosti," 99.

[28] Kontler, *Povijest Mađarske*, 147.

[29] Kurelac, "Croatia and Central Europe," 49–51.

[30] Mavro Orbini, Ragusa, ca. mid-1500s–Ragusa, 1611. Blažević, *Ilirizam prije ilirizma*, 176.

that the Croats were not forced into a union with Hungary with arms, but through family inheritance: "after King Krešimir died without male heirs, and his only daughter became married to the Hungarian."[31] Moreover, similar to Tubero's criticism of the level of political rights for Croatian lands under the Hungarian Crown, Orbini also questions Hungarian power, writing that "the Croats neither wanted Hungarian *bans* nor Hungarian rule, and that they continued to elect *bans* among themselves."[32]

Nevertheless, Orbini's image of Hungary-Croatia was also shaped by his own ideological and political agenda of Slavic and Croatian unity. In this context, Orbini's interpretation of the manner in which King Louis I of Anjou took Dalmatia away from the Venetians is a particularly significant example. It was exactly during King Louis's reign that all Dalmatian cities, including Ragusa, were again joined with the Croatian Kingdom after the peace treaty of Zadar (1358), and Orbini placed that event within the wider historical and political context of unity of Dalmatia and Croatia and the political integration of the territory of the Croatian lands. It is significant that he even finishes his discussion of Croatian history with this event: "Following that conquest, King Louis became the ruler of Dalmatia as well, after taking it away from the Venetians. Thus at that time both Dalmatia and Croatia were united and subordinated to one single ban."[33] The very idea of the unity of the Croatian lands will later on, in the seventeenth century, remain among the crucial and the most recognisable premises of Croatian historiography.[34]

The Šibenik historiographical circle: Dominicus Zavoreus

In 1602 Dominicus Zavoreus, a nobleman, humanist and historian from Šibenik, finished his work *De rebus Dalmaticis libri octo*, which was never published.[35] The work is important because it is considered the first systematic written history of Dalmatia.[36] It also serves as an excellent exam-

[31] M. Orbini, *Il Regno de gli Slavi hoggi corrotamente detti Schiavoni* (Pesaro 1601), 394.
[32] Orbini, *Il Regno de gli Slavi*, 394.
[33] *Dopò la qual conquista il Rè Lodouico si fece padrone etiandio di Dalmatia, pigliandola dalle mani de'Venetiani. La ondela Dalmatia, & Croatia fù all'hora vnita, & posta sotto vn Bano*. Orbini, *Il Regno de gli Slavi*, 396.
[34] Raukar, "Croatia within Europe," 12.
[35] Dinko Zavorović, Šibenik, ca. 1540–Šibenik, 1608.
[36] A. Šupuk, "Sitniji prilozi biografiji prvog hrvatskog historiografa" [Smaller contributions to the biography of the first Croatian historiographer], *Zadarska revija* 2, 8 (1968), 149; I. Kurelac, *Dinko Zavorović: Šibenski humanist i*

ple of how complex historical and political circumstances, particularly the political and military struggle for the defence of Croatian *reliquiae reliquiarum*, as well as the author's personal attitude towards the Venetian Republic, the Ottoman Empire and the Hungarian Crown, influenced his ideological and historiographical interpretation of the image of the medieval kingdom.[37]

The ideological frame of Zavoreus's work was largely determined by his explicit anti-Ottoman and anti-Venetian attitude, as well as by his disagreement with the expansionist politics of the Bosnian King Tvrtko I (1378–1391). It is very likely that Zavoreus's opposition to the Venetian government, which eventually led to the stigmatisation of his historiographical work, was the main reason why his work *De rebus Dalmaticis* remained unpublished. In spite of this, Zavoreus's work on the history of the Dalmatia remained popular and was transcribed and translated into Italian several times, and these manuscripts continued to circulate among the members of the Dalmatian intellectual elite. The work was written under the patronage of Zavoreus's friend and brother-in-law, the famous Croatian scholar Faustus Verantius.[38] Its main purpose was to furnish the ideological guidelines and historiographical arguments to both the noblemen and the commoners in Dalmatia and the city of Šibenik, and to help in forming and maintaining their awareness of their own political identity.

Describing the historical events from antiquity to the year 1437, when King Sigismund of Luxembourg (1387–1437) died, among numerous other topics, Zavoreus depicts the rule of the Hungarian-Croatian kings in Dalmatia as a protective one, presenting himself, as far as this topic is concerned, as a pro-Hungarian historiographer. Zavoreus's most important historical sources on which he based the description of the period of the rule of the Árpáds (1102–1301) and Angevins (1301–1409) in Dalmatia is the work *Rerum Ungaricarum decades* by Antonius Bonfinius (1427–

povjesničar [Dinko Zavorović: Humanist and historian from Šibenik] (Šibenik 2008), 37–40.

[37] For the purpose of this scholarly analysis the manuscript from Biblioteca Marciana in Venice is used [hereafter: M]. Z. Dominicus, *De rebus Dalmaticis libri VIII*, Mss. Latini; Cl. X. Cod. XL-3652.

[38] Zavoreus married the sister of Faustus Verantius in 1582. I. Kurelac, *Dinko Zavorović*, 66–68, 84–94; Faustus Verantius (Faust Vrančić, Šibenik, 1551–Venice, 1617) was a Croatian humanist, diplomat in the court of Emperor Rudolph II, inventor, lexicographer and polymath. Among numerous ecclesiastical and diplomatic posts, he also held a titular post as the bishop of Csanád in Hungary. M. Kurelac, "Vrančić, Faust," in *Hrvatska opća enciklopedija*, vol. 11, ed. by S. Ravlić (Zagreb 2009), 499. See also: Birnbaum, *Humanists in a Shattered World*: *Croatian and Hungarian Latinity in the Sixteenth Century* (Columbus 1986), 292–305.

1502) and 40 royal and other charters.[39] Zavorović is particularly keen to explain how political and historical events at the broader regional level, such as political tensions between the Kingdom of Hungary-Croatia and the Venetian Republic, have influenced local events within the Dalmatian communes which, as he interprets it, have benefited from Hungarian rule. Books 4–8 of *De rebus Dalmaticis* thus give numerous examples of the ways in which Dalmatian inhabitants celebrated the establishment of Hungarian rule. In his description of Dalmatians celebrating King Coloman (1102–16) and raising him up to immortality after he defeated the Venetians, Zavoreus quotes Bonfini's work:

> Numerous noblemen and princes of that province went ahead of the triumph with the king's approval; their heads shaved, as if they were newly liberated, so that it looked like the king, as is custom, triumphed over the liberated Dalmatians and not over the defeated Venetians. Thus, due to that glorious enterprise, everyone considered Coloman to be worthy of immortality.[40]

The image of medieval Hungary-Croatia in the work *De rebus Dalmaticis* is also interpreted in the context of the liberation of Dalmatia from the Venetians. For example, using the quotes from the works of Antonius Bonfinius and Petrus Iustinianus, Zavoreus describes how King Coloman, after the city rebelled against the Venetians, gave "perpetual freedom" to Zadar as well as to the other Dalmatian cities, which made the contrast between the Venetian and Hungarian rule in Dalmatia even more intense:

> Thus at once almost all Dalmatians defected from the Venetians. The Zaratines were among the first ones. After they threw down the Venetian rule, they accepted the military defence sent to them by the king (according to

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[39] I. Kurelac, "Počeci kritičke historiografije u djelu *De rebus Dalmaticis* Dinka Zavorovića" [The beginnings of critical historiography in the work *De rebus Dalmaticis* by Dinko Zavorović], (Ph.D. diss., University of Zagreb 2010), 59–62, 72–76, 103–111; Antonius Bonfinius (Antonio Bonfini), a humanist and historian from Ancona (Italy), worked at the court of King Matthias Corvinus, and was the author of the historical works *Rerum Ungaricarum decades tres* ... (Basel 1543) and *Libellus de Corvinae domus origine* (Basel 1577). Cf. T. Kardos, *A magyarországi humanizmus kora* [The age of Hungarian humanism] (Budapest 1955), 150–201; Birnbaum, *Humanists*, 14, 20, 46, 62–63.

[40] *Multi quoque illius provinciae nobiles et plerique reguli, non invito rege, raso capite, velut in novam libertatem asserti, ante triumphum processere, ut rex non tam de victis Venetis, quam liberatis Dalmatis, rite triumphare videretur. Quare hoc praeclarissimo tantum facinore Colomanum immortalitate dignum omnes censuere.* M, f. 86^{r}–86^{v}.

> Bonfinius and Petrus Iustinianus). The others followed their example and expelled Venetians from all parts. Coloman filled Dalmatia with auxiliary troops, upon which the Dalmatians relied, and [to whom they] immediately defected. Soon afterwards, the king issued an edict, granting Dalmatia permanent freedom, as he previously promised (according to Bonfinius and charters).[41]

In terms of Zavoreus's ideological and political agenda, it can be concluded that such parts of the text have even a certain subversive dimension, and are important evidence of his intention to declare himself a political opponent and critic of the Venetian government and to emphasise his inclination towards the Kingdom of Hungary-Croatia.

Another important factor that strengthened Zavoreus's pro-Hungarian orientation was his attitude towards the medieval Kingdom of Bosnia, more precisely, his criticism of the Bosnian King Tvrtko I's politics of expansion, which grew stronger after the death of King Louis I of Anjou in 1382, during the Croatian magnates resistance against the crown (1383–1408). King Tvrtko supported them in pursuit of his own agenda, and turmoil spread over to Dalmatian communes, causing numerous inter-party struggles between them.[42] Regarding these events, Zavoreus once again declares himself a political sympathiser with the Hungarian Crown. His personal political preferences are further emphasised in recounting an ancestor from his mother's side, Luca Vitturi, a nobleman from Trogir, who according to a historical document from 1390 urged the Council of Trogir to remain loyal to the Hungarian-Croatian King Sigismund instead of the Bosnian King Tvrtko I.[43] In his pro-Hungarian attitude Zavoreus thus also followed family tradition.

> In the year 1390 the citizens of Šibenik and Split gave themselves up to King Tvrtko (according to the public documents). The citizens of Trogir followed their example and the speakers in their public council decided to defect to King Tvrtko. Lucas Vitturi, a nobleman by birth, himself loyal to the Hungarian Crown, encouraged the citizens not to defect, and he finally

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[41] *Quare ad unum fere omnes Dalmatae a Venetis defecere, atque in primis Iadrenses. Qui eiecto Venetorum magistratu, missum a rege praesidium admisere (eodem Bonfinio teste et Petro Iustiniano). Horum exemplo caeteri ducti, Venetos undique exegerunt. Colomanus auxiliaribus copiis Dalmatiam compleverat, quibus Dalmatae freti subito defecerunt. Regis mox edicto, veluti ante promiserat, perpetua libertate Dalmatiae donata, (Bonfinius et diplomata testantur).* M, f. 79^{v}.

[42] Cf. ibid., f. 125^{r}.

[43] Document 203, 9 May 1390, in *Codex diplomaticus Regni Croatiae*, *Dalmatiae et Slavoniae*, vol. 17, ed. by S. Gunjača (Zagreb 1981), 286–287; Raukar, *Hrvatsko srednjovjekovlje*, 85–86; Vardić, "Kruna, kralj i grad," 35.

> solemnly announced it and ordered a public document to be composed as well.[44]

What was the final purpose of Zavoreus's ideological and political agenda? The historiographical and ideological frame of the work *De rebus Dalmaticis* implies that among three dominant political forces, the author chose the Hungarian Crown as the only acceptable political option, within which the Croatian lands should be both territorially and politically united. Moreover, Zavoreus's own personal political attitude played a part. He was exiled by the Venetian government for four years (1585–1588) from his hometown of Šibenik, and thus as a historiographer expressed loyalty towards his homeland via loyalty to the Hungarian Crown. Zavoreus's history of Dalmatia should not be perceived as a mere description of historical events, but as an attempt to discuss the numerous important political issues and attitudes of the Dalmatian intellectual elite towards the past and present. One should recognise in his animosity towards Ottoman and Venetian rule and sympathies towards Hungary-Croatia the beginnings of the aspiration of Croatian humanist historiographers for the political and territorial unity of Dalmatia and Croatia.

The ideological and political stance of *De rebus Dalmaticis* was further developed by the "father of Croatian historiography," Iohannes Lucius (Ivan Lučić Lucius, 1604–1679), a nobleman from Trogir, in his *De regno Dalmatiae et Croatiae libri sex* (Amsterdam 1666). His historiographical approach was far more scientific, objective and critical, and deprived of the influence of the medieval chronicles and annals, which were the most common historical sources in the Renaissance. One of the most important purposes of *De regno* was to prove that Croatia and Dalmatia, according to royal and other charters, had the status of one unified, autonomous and independent kingdom (*regnum*, not *regna*) since ancient times.[45]

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[44] *Sibenicenses et Spalatenses anno Christi millesimo trecentesimo nonagesimo Stephano Tuvartko [!] regi se tradiderunt (ut diplomata testantur). Horum exemplo ducti, Tragurienses in publica eorum contione pro deficiendo ad Stephanum regem oratores destinarunt, ibique Lucas Victuri [!], haud ignobili genere ortus, uti fidelis Ungaricae coronae, ne deficerent cives, hortatus est ac tandem sollemniter edixit et de edictione publicum instrumentum conficiendum iussit (ut publica documenta testantur).* M, f. 125^{r}–125^{v}.

[45] M. Kurelac, *Ivan Lučić Lucius: Otac hrvatske historiografije* [Ivan Lučić Lucius: The father of Croatian historiography] (Zagreb 1994), 75–76; M. Kurelac, "Život i djelo Ivana Lučića-Luciusa," [The life and work of Ivan Lučić-Lucius] in I. Lučić, *O kraljevstvu Dalmacije i Hrvatske* (Zagreb 1986), 28–33, 53.

The Zagreb historiographical circle: Georgius Rattkay

The historiographical and ideological agenda of the Zagreb canon Georgius Rattkay,[46] as presented in his work *Memoria regum et banorum Regnorum Dalmatiae, Croatiae, Sclavoniae* (Vienna 1652), represents the author's deep awareness of the territorial and political integrity and autonomy that Dalmatia, Croatia and Slavonia lost during the sixteenth-century wars with the Ottoman conquerors, as well as his determination to restore it. Like the works of his predecessors, Rattkay's motives for writing history can be detected in the historiographical circumstances of the time, i.e. the joint defence of Christian Europe against the Ottoman Empire. But the most important part of his ideological and political agenda was the intention to present the members of the Croatian political elite as equal to the Hungarian. In contrast with all the authors presented above, Rattkay was not a Dalmatian, but grew up and lived within the part of Croatia which was under the rule of the Habsburgs.[47]

In terms of Rattkay's perception of the image of the medieval Kingdom of Hungary-Croatia, it is important to note a distinction between his interpretation of its internal and international political role. On the level of internal politics, Croatian historiographers tended to emphasise Rattkay's anti-Hungarian attitude. As the Hungarian historian Sándor Bene concurs, it was as these historians claimed a result of Rattkay's intention to protect the privileges of the estates of Croatia and the integrity of the kingdom, to respond to Hungarians' attempts at centralisation and to oppose the use of the term *partes subiectae* for the Croatian lands.[48] In the same context, one also notices that despite the joint political platform in terms of the struggle against the Venetians and the Ottomans, Rattkay in his *Memoria* perceived Croatia and Hungary as a *regna distincta* connected through the person of the common Habsburg monarch.[49]

As far as the international political role of the Kingdom of Hungary is concerned, Rattkay's ideological agenda was significantly different. In the

[46] Juraj Rattkay, Veliki Tabor, 1612–Zagreb, 1666.
[47] Blažević, *Ilirizam prije ilirizma*, 274–275.
[48] S. Bene, "Ideološke koncepcije o staleškoj državi zagrebačkoga kanonika," [Ideological concepts of a Zagreb canon about the class-state] in *Juraj Rattkay, Spomen na kraljeve i banove Kraljevstva Dalmacije, Hrvatske i Slavonije*, ed. by M. Valentić (Zagreb 2001), 28–33; G. Rattkay, *Memoria regum et banorum, regnorum Dalmatiae, Croatiae et Sclavoniae* (Vienna 1652), 57.
[49] M. Valentić, "Predgovor" [Preface], in *Juraj Rattkay, Spomen na kraljeve i banove Kraljevstva Dalmacije, Hrvatske i Slavonije*, ed. by M. Valentić (Zagreb 2001), vi; Rattkay, *Memoria regum* 58.

third book of his *Memoria*, on the history of the autonomous Kingdom of Hungary, from King Saint Ladislaus to the Battle of Mohács, Rattkay bases his narrative on the works of historians close to the Hungarian and Habsburg court (Bonfinius, Thuróczy and Istvánffy),[50] describing the rule of Hungarian kings in Dalmatia as primarily the joint struggle against the Venetians, against the pretensions of the German Empire, and the preservation of territorial integrity of the Kingdom of Hungary-Croatia. This approach is fairly close to the ideological frames of Zavoreus's work.[51]

Conclusion

These few examples from the most prominent historiographical works of the Croatian Renaissance and early modern period testify to the importance of the image of the medieval Kingdom of Hungary-Croatia. The dynasties of the Árpáds and Angevins were understood to have played an important part in the process of the creation of the Croatian political space and its economic development.[52] The perception of the kingdom was also influenced by the fact that the Croatian lands were politically and territori-

[50] Nicolaus Isthvánfi Pannonius (Miklós Istvánffy, Kisasszonyfalva, 1538–Vinica, near Varaždin, 1615) was a Hungarian statesman, diplomat, historian and counsellor of the Emperor Rudolf II. He was the author of the work *Historiarum de rebus Ungaricis libri XXXIV ab anno1490 ad annum 1605* (Cologne 1622), which is considered to be one of the most important sources for Croatian and Hungarian history of the sixteenth century. Cf. Birnbaum, *Humanists*, 151–152; I. Mandušić, "Ugarski povjesničar Nikola (Miklós) Istvánffy (1538.-1615.) i njegovo djelo *Historiarum de rebus Ungaricis* u hrvatskoj historiografiji" [The Hungarian historian Nicholas (Miklós) Istvánffy (1538–1615) and his manuscript *Historiarum de rebus Ungaricis* in Croatian historiography], *Croatica Christiana Periodica* 64, 33 (2009), 33, 40–48. Iohannes de Thurocz (János Thuróczy, c. 1435–1490) was a Hungarian chronicler and notary to the court of King Matthias Corvinus, and author of the work *Chronica Hungarorum* (Brno 1488). See *Repertorium fontium historiae Medii Aevi*, vol. 11, ed. by A. Potthast et al. (Rome 2006), 199; E. Mályusz, *A Thuróczy-krónika és forrásai* [The Thuróczy chronicle and its sources] (Budapest 1967).

[51] G. Rattkay, *Memoria regum et banorum*, 57–130; For example, Rattkay emphasises the role of King Louis I Anjou in liberating Dalmatia from the Venetians, and he writes that "this King has indeed taken great care for our lands, like no other Hungarian before him did, by expelling the external enemies with vigilance," Ibid., 74.

[52] For more details on the role of the Árpád and Anjou dynasties in Croatian history and a survey of previous scholarship, see Raukar, *Hrvatsko srednjovjekovlje* and Raukar, "Croatia within Europe," 7, 12.

ally divided between the Ottoman Empire, the Venetian Republic and the Hungarian Crown. Such circumstances inevitably gave the Croatian intellectual elite a stronger urge for self-identification and self-determination in the face of international political factors, which could take various forms.

Some Croatian humanists (like Dominicus Zavoreus) accepted the pro-Hungarian attitude as a form of expression of their loyalty towards their own homeland. Such an attitude can also be interpreted as a politically subversive factor aimed at opposing the Venetian government. Another important reason for the positive interpretation of Hungarian rule among some Croatian historians of the pre-national period was that it served them as a plausible ideological and political platform within which divided Croatian lands could be united.

Nevertheless, it should be emphasised that the perception of the medieval Kingdom of Hungary-Croatia in the works of the aforementioned authors varies, depending on whether it is interpreted from the point of view of internal or international politics. In terms of the international political defence against the Venetians and the Ottomans, the politics of the Hungarian Crown concerning the Croatian lands was interpreted as a protective one, and Hungarian power and authority was praised. On the other hand, from the standpoint of internal politics, self-identification was a more important issue for Croatian humanists. Thus in the works of some Croatian historiographers (Tubero, Orbini and Rattkay), one can note the criticism of the position and the level of rights that the Croatian noblemen had in Hungary-Croatia, as well as the level of rights of the inhabitants of Dalmatia and Croatia in general. The image of the medieval Kingdom of Hungary-Croatia in Croatian historiography of the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries played an important part at the ideological and political level, and it often served as a plausible political frame for accomplishing the unity of Croatian lands, but it was multi-layered and interpreted in many different ways.

HUNGARIANS IN SEVENTEENTH- AND EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY MOLDAVIAN AND WALLACHIAN CHRONICLES

KLÁRA JAKÓ

This study presents a survey of the image of Hungary and Hungarians in Moldavian and Wallachian chronicles. Although several scholars have dealt recently with the phenomenon of the image of Hungarians in the medieval and early modern written sources and historical literature of their neighbouring countries, little research has been accomplished into the narrative sources east of Hungary and Transylvania.[1] The aim of this research is to show the image in these sources from Moldavia and Wallachia during the period of the existence of the Transylvanian Principality (1541–1690) and the 1700s, when it had close relations with these two principalities. The research focuses on the chronicles of Moldavia and Wallachia from the sixteenth to the first half of the eighteenth century.

The borders between Transylvania, Wallachia and Moldavia denote not only the eastern border of divided Hungary, but also marks the frontier of Western and Eastern Christianity and the beginning of the Byzantine-Slavic culture. In both Moldavia and Wallachia was used the Cyrillic alphabet, which was a part of the Byzantine-Slavic written culture. Very little sources were left in comparison to Western or Central Europe. According to the inventory by Ioachim Crăciun, from the 467 known early modern narrative sources from the territory of present-day Romania, only

This study is an adapted version of the previously published article in *Colloquia* 15 (2008) in English and in *Történelmi Szemle* 53(2011)/2 in Hungarian.

[1] Cf. the studies published in the special issue "A Magyar Királyság európai szemmel" [The Kingdom of Hungary from a European perspective], *Korall* 38 (2009).

54 stem from Moldavia, 43 from Wallachia and 370 from Transylvania.[2] The proportion of the preserved documentary sources is similar. The lack of sources can be explained by the fact that the princely chancelleries of Moldavia and Wallachia did not have an archive until the eighteenth century.[3] Also there are no significant collections preserved in family archives from the sixteenth or seventeenth centuries. This means that only a limited amount of texts can be studied.

Even in the case of preserved documents, it does not necessarily mean that they contain useful information on our subject. For example there was no trace of an image of Hungarians or Hungary in the content of the almost 2000 Hungarian-language letters sent by the Moldavian and Wallachian princely chancelleries to various recipients in Transylvania and the Kingdom of Hungary, collected by me so far. As the goal of these missives was the exchange of specific information, these letters mainly deal with assessments of given political relations and economic situations. They do, however, occasionally contain information on other peoples, such as the Greeks, Ottomans and Armenians. If the senders had an image formed of their recipients (who were mostly Hungarians), they obviously did not share it in these letters.

The analysis of the time narrative sources, on the other hand, turn out to be much more effective for the purpose of examining the image of Hungarians formed by the Moldavians and Wallachians. The genre of the chronicle ("cronică" or "letopiseţ," in Romanian) was widespread in Moldavia and Wallachia. Liturgical literature dominated the written culture of these territories, which basically followed Byzantine traditions. These are specifically event-oriented and descriptive narrative texts, not unlike annals. Additionally, in most cases they are compilations, using various, sometimes older, texts, and often based on foreign sources (especially Polish, but also Greek or Hungarian and from Transylvania). Several times the original has not survived, and they are known from later copies. The majority of the sixteenth-century sources are written in Old Church Slavonic, but there are Greek, Central Bulgarian and Russian texts too. By the

[2] I. Crăciun, A. Ilieş, *Repertoriul manuscriselor de cronici interne privind istoria României, sec. XV–XVIII*. [Repertoire of internal manuscripts from chronicles of 15th- to 18th-century Romania] (Bucharest 1963).

[3] D. Ciurea, "Diplomtica latină în Ţările Române. Noi contribuţii" [The Latin diplomacy of the Romanian lands. New results], *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie şi Arheologie A. D. Xenopol* 8 (1971), 2.

seventeenth century we find historigraphical texts in Cyrillic written in Romanian more often.[4]

Some of the authors of the sixteenth-century chronicles are unknown. In the case of the Moldavian texts, the writers are mostly local, and their works are largely based on the same sixteenth-century ancestral version.[5] However, there are three local authors we know of by name. The first is Macarie, Bishop of Roman (Románvásár), Moldavian historian (end of the

[4] My analysis is based on the following narrative sources: *Letopiseţul anonim al Moldovei* (Anonymous chronicle of Moldavia), *Cronica moldo-germană* (Moldavian–German chronicle), *Cronica scurtă a Moldovei* (Brief chronicle of Moldavia), *Letopiseţul de la Putna I, II* (Chronicle of Putna, 1 and 2), *Cronica lui Macarie* (Chronicle of Macarie), *Cronica lui Eftimie* (Chronicle of Eftimie), *Cronica lui Azarie* (Chronicle of Azarie), *Cronica moldo-rusă* (Moldavian–Russian Chronicle), *Cronica moldo-polonă* (Moldavian–Polish Chronicle) and *Viaţa lui Vlad Ţepeş* (The Life of Vlad Ţepeş). All chronicles here listed were published in: *Cronicile slavo-române din sec. XV–XVI* [Fifteenth- to sixteenth-century Slavic–Romanian chronicles], ed. by I. Bogdan, rev. and supp. by P. P. Panaitescu. ([Bucharest] 1959); G. Ureche, *Letopiseţul Ţării Moldovei* [The chronicle of Moldavia], ed. by P. P. Panaitescu (n.p. 1955); M. Costin, *Letopiseţul Ţării Moldovei de la Aron Vodă încoace* [The chronicle of Moldavia since the rule of Prince Aron], ed. by P. P. Panaitescu (Bucharest 1944); *Cronica ţărilor Moldovei şi Munteniei* [Chronicle of the countries Moldavia and Muntenia], also as *Cronica polonă* [Polish Chronicle], in *Opere* [Works], ed. by P. P. Panaitescu (Bucharest 1958), 202–218; *Istorie în versuri polone despre Moldova şi Ţara Românească* [The Polish history of Moldavia and Wallachia in verse], also as *Poema polonă* [Polish narrative verse], in *Opere*, 218–241; *De neamul moldovenilor* [On the Moldavian people], in *Opere*, 241–277; *Istorie de Crăiia Ungurească* [History of the Kingdom of Hungary], in *Opere*, 277–315; I. Neculce, *Letopiseţul Ţării Moldovei şi O samă de cuvinte* [The chronicle of Moldavia and Some words], ed. by I. Iordan (n.p. 1955); R. Popescu Vornicul, *Istoriile domnilor Ţării Româneşti* [The history of the princes of Wallachia], ed. by C. Grecescu (Bucharest 1963); *Istoria Ţării Româneşti. De la octombrie 1688 pînă la martie 1717* [The history of Wallachia from October 1688 to March 1717], ed. by C. Greceanu (Bucharest 1959); *Istoria Ţării Româneşti 1290–1690. Letopiseţul Cantacuzinesc* [The history of Wallachia from 1290–1690. Chronicle of the Cantacuzinos], ed. by C. Grecescu and D. Simionescu (Bucharest 1960); *Cronica Ghiculeştilor. Istoria Moldovei între anii 1695–1754* [The chronicle of the Ghica family. The history of Moldavia between 1695 and 1754], ed. by N. Camariano and A. Camariano-Cioran (Bucharest 1965); Stolnicul Constantin Cantacuzino, *Istoriia Ţării Rumâneşti* [The history of Wallachia], ed. by N. Cartojan and D. Simionescu (Craiova 1940); D. Cantemir, *Moldva leírása* [Description of Moldavia], tr. by K. Köllő (Bucharest 1973); D. Cantemir, *Hronicul vechimei romano-moldo-vlahilor* [The chronicle of the Romanians], ed. by Gr. G. Tocilescu (Bucharest 1901).

[5] *Cronicile slavo-române*, 41, 53.

fifteenth century, beginning of the sixteenth century, –1558?), who wrote a history of Moldavia from 1504–1551, by the order of the Moldavian Voivod Petru Rareş (1541–1546).[6] This work was continued by the second known writer, Eftimie, Bishop of Rădăuţi (early sixteenth century to 1561). He wrote down the events of 1541–1554 by order of his patron, the Moldavian Voivod Alexandru Lăpuşneanu (1563–1568). The third author, Azarie, was a Moldavian monk and historian (sixteenth century), who wrote a history of Moldavia 1551–1574 by order of Petru Şchiopu, Moldavian voivod (1574–November 1577; 1578–1579; September 1582–1591).

Beside these local authors, we know about the names of some others as well. The first is Grigore Ureche (1590/1595–1647), a boyar (a landowner in Moldavia and Wallachia) and a Polish nobleman, who acted as a Moldavian historian and chronicler.[7] He wrote the already mentioned historical work, *Letopiseţul Ţării Moldovei*, after finishing his studies in Lvov (Lemberg), at that time Poland, sometime between 1642 and 1647.[8] Another historian, Miron Costin (1633–1691), was also a Moldavian boyar and a Polish nobleman. He studied at the Jesuit college in Bar, Poland (now Ukraine). After his return to Moldavia around 1652–53, he held several high offices at the princely court and played an active role in Moldavian diplomacy. He finished his principal work in 1675.[9] In 1691, he was beheaded on orders of Prince Constantin Cantemir, voivod of Moldavia (1685–1693). Ion Neculce (1672?–1745?), also a Moldavian boyar whose mother was a member of the famous Cantacuzino family, held several high functions at the princely court. His aforementioned Moldavian chronicle, *Letopiseţul Ţării Moldovei*, which was probably produced in the mid-1730s or 1740s, has the character of a memoir, while his *O samă de cuvinte* is a historically-based collection of legends.[10]

The name of many chronicle writers is unknown or uncertain. The *Cronica Ghiculeştilor*, for example, which was preserved in the Greek language, was allegedly written in Iaşi by a staunch supporter of the princely family. There is an ongoing debate concerning the date when the *Istoriile domnilor Ţării Româneşti* of Radu Popescu Vornicul (the judge of the princely court) was written. We are not certain either about the identity of the author, although it is attributed to *iudex curiae regiae* Radu Popescu

[6] Ibid., 74.
[7] Ureche, *Letopiseţul*, 8.
[8] P. Teodor, *Evoluţia gîndirii istorice româneşti* [The development of Romanian historical thinking] (Cluj 1970), 13.
[9] Ibid., 21–22.
[10] Ibid., 29–30.

(1655?–1729). It is most likely that it was written either at the end of the seventeenth or the beginning of the eighteenth century.[11] We also do not know who wrote the chronicle, *Istoria Ţării Româneşti*, which recounts the history of Wallachia from 1688 until 1717. The work was written in Romanian with the Cyrillic alphabet, possibly between 1709 and 1719.[12] We have no decisive proof about the authorship of another chronicle, *Istoria Ţării Româneşti 1290–1690*, which aims to present a comprehensive history of Wallachia from 1290 until 1690, also known as *Letopiseţul Cantacuzinesc* compilation. Although some say Stoica Ludescu, a Wallachian boyar, an intimate of the Cantacuzino family, is the compiler of the text in its currently known form, consisting of several parts, historians do not entirely agree.[13] Though its exact date of compilation is not known to us, the writing may have begun in the 1660s or 1670s; clearly most of it was written down after 1690.[14] The debate surrounding the textual layers of the chronicle and its dating has not been concluded.[15]

The stolnic (high steward) of Wallachia, Constantin Cantacuzino (1639–1716), wrote the *Istoriia Ţării Rumâneşti* (The history of Wallachia).[16] He was a Cantacuzino offspring, and nephew, on his mother's side, of Prince Radu Şerban, Voivod of Wallachia (1602–December 1610; June–September 1611). He graduated from school in Brassó (Braşov) in Transylvania, and then travelled to Constantinople and Italy, where he studied in Padua. Eventually, he returned via Vienna to Wallachia, where he would play a significant role in the politics and intellectual life of his time. His library, containing approximately five-hundred volumes, was a rarity in early Wallachia at the time. He is also considered one of the forerunners of modern Romanian historiography.[17]

The Moldavian Voivod Dimitrie Cantemir (1693, 1710–1711), son of Prince Constantin Cantemir, was born in 1673. He received an excellent education, studied in Constantinople among other places, and was considered a very educated man in his time. He was also prince of Moldavia on

[11] Popescu Vornicul, *Istoriile domnilor*, xvii–xviii.
[12] *Istoria Ţării Romîneşti*, xxi–xxii.
[13] Id., *Istoriia Ţării Româneşti* 1290–1690, xvi–xvii.
[14] Ibid., xiv.
[15] Cf. O. Pecican, *Letopiseţul cantacuzinesc, problema originilor şi interpretarea istorică* [Chronicle of the Cantacuzinos, the question of origin and the history of perception and historical view], available at http://www.observatorcultural.ro/ Letopisetul-cantacuzinesc-problema-originilor-si-interpretarea-istorica *articleID_3495-articles_details.html, accessed on 3 June 2014.
[16] Cantacuzino, *Istoria.*
[17] P. Teodor, *Evoluţia*, 33–34.

two occasions, the first time for three weeks in 1693, and the second time between 1710 and 1711, after which Tsar Peter the Great appointed him advisor on Ottoman affairs at his court. He became known as a supporter of the modernisation of the Russian society as well. His interests expanded well beyond history, being learned in geography and philosophy too. He was elected as a member of the Berlin Academy of Science and kept correspondence with many leading figures of the scientific world. He wrote a part of his oeuvre in Latin.

The above-mentioned narrative sources are partly compilations and especially Moldavian authors besides Bonfini and Toppeltinus (both of them mentioned by Costin as Hungarians) use mostly Polish sources apart from the records that survived from earlier periods.[18] Perhaps this is a reason why all these works contain such little information on the Hungarians; moreover, the chronicle of the Ghica family contains no information on them whatsoever. The texts also reveal that they do not differentiate between Hungarians from Transylvania and those from the Kingdom of Hungary, as well as between the different parts of the country. For example, Ureche says, "Transylvania, or Hungary as some call it."[19] Costin writes, "Transylvania, what we call Hungary."[20] This view is also reflected in Eftimie's sixteenth-century chronicle, *Cronica lui Eftimie*, when he says the Hungarian border runs alongside Brassó.[21]

Understandably, the Hungarians as well as Hungarian historical events and personalities arouse the interest of historians from across the Carpathians when they were somehow connected to events from the history of Moldavia and Wallachia, like in the case of common military campaigns or various endeavours of Transylvanian princes across the Carpathians, or the exile of certain Moldavian and Wallachian political figures in Transylvania. The only exception is Miron Costin's work introducing the history of the Hungarian Kingdom, which is essentially a reworking of Laurentius Toppeltinus's *Origines et occasus Transsylvanorum*.[22] This is why the work only deals with questions of the history of Transylvania, although it purports to present the history of the Kingdom of Hungary as its title sug-

[18] Costin, *Opere*, 220. Antonio Bonfini (1427/1434–1502), Italian humanist, poet and famous historian of King Matthias Corvinus. Main work: *Rerum Ungaricarum decades* (First appeared in print Basel, 1543 – decas 1–3 –, the complete work also in Basel, 1568). Laurentius Toppeltinus, Transylvanian-Saxon historian (1641?–1670). Main work: *Origines et occasus Transsylvanorum* (Lyon 1667).
[19] Ureche, *Letopiseţul*, 123.
[20] Costin, *Letopiseţul*, 39.
[21] *Cronica lui Eftimie*, in *Cronicile slavo-române*, 117.
[22] Costin, *Opere*, 426.

gests. Apart from a description of events with characterisations of Hungarians, we do not encounter any generalisations here either, though the subject would suggest plenty of opportunity for such.

As for the sixteenth-century chronicles, the same apply largely to the way the events of the fourteenth to sixteenth century are described. Naturally, the main events of the common history of Hungarians and Romanians are recorded. These are, for example, the legends of the foundation of Moldavia and Wallachia, how they set off from the Kingdom of Hungary, the description of the Battle of Posada, King Matthias Corvinus's (1458–1490) battle at Baia (Moldvabánya) (1467) and the Battle of Mohács (1526).[23] These factual descriptions do not reveal much of the development of the image of Hungarians. It is worth mentioning, however, that these works include the division of the medieval Kingdom of Hungary. One of them even explains the struggle between John Szapolyai, king of Hungary (1526–1540), and Ferdinand I, king of Hungary (1526–1564), as an issue related to national identity: "from the North rose one king and from the West another. The Saxons supported Ferdinand, who was German and came from the West, the Northerner, who was Hungarian and was called John (János), was backed by his countrymen, those who spoke his language."[24]

The only thorough descriptions of Hungarians and Hungary can be found in Grigore Ureche's chronicle.[25] He describes them in the following way:

> We would like to describe Lower Hungary and Upper Transylvania because they are our neighbours and because they also had a great kingdom, the same as the Poles. We will not proceed with our description of Transylvania or Hungary, as some call it, without referring to its beginnings, since it is our close neighbour, and many times the rulers of Moldavia sought refuge and help there.
>
> Transylvania or Lower Hungary is called "The Land beyond the Forest," and it includes part of Dacia from across the mountains as well. Those who call it "The Land beyond the Forest" are right, since it is surrounded by mountains and forests from all sides, as if it were enclosed. In German, it is also called the country of seven cities, and the inhabitants of the country call themselves Transylvanians, and they neighbour the Hungarians from the west, or Pannonia as some call it. It neighbours Poland to the

[23] I. Căzan, "Ungurii în cronistica românească. Secolele XVI–XVIII" [Hungarians in the chronicle literature of the 16th–18th century], *Studii şi materiale de Istorie Medie* 19 (2001), 207–216.
[24] "Cronica lui Macarie," in *Cronicile slavo-romîne*, 94.
[25] Ureche, *Letopiseţul*, 123–126.

north, Wallachia to the south, and Moldavia to the east. The Land of Transylvania is not only a country itself, but Transylvania is also the name of its middle, which comprises much from all around, and where the seat of the kingdom is also found. On its boundaries, there are other smaller "states" which all belong to it and are under its rule: the Maramureş [Máramaros in Hungarian, now Romania] from the direction of Poland, the Szeklerland from the direction of Moldavia, and the Land of Olt from the direction of Wallachia, as well as the Land of Bârsa [Barcaság, now Romania], the Land of Haţeg [Hátszeg, now Romania] and the Land of Aoş [Avas, now Romania]; moreover, there are many other lands that are under the rule of the Kingdom of Hungary and belong to Transylvania.

Transylvania is not only inhabited by Hungarians, but also by many Saxons and Romanians, the latter being scattered all over the place, so much that they cover a larger area than the Hungarians. As for Lower Hungary, which is also called Greater Hungary (or Pannonia as it is called in the German language [sic]), it is mostly inhabited by Hungarians; only a few Romanians are living there, who practice the Hungarian religion.

Hungarians do not practice a single religion, but they are divided among four or five religions, some being called Calvinists, others Lutherans,[26] others *calandoş*,[27] which means the true religion in their language. Others are called *vereş ianoş*, who believe in John the Baptist and have nothing to do with Christ, whilst others are called Sabbatarians, who follow the Jewish faith. Another group are the Papists, who partly follow the Greek faith and who mostly live in Transylvania with only a very few in Greater Hungary. They have icons and crosses in churches, and even have crosses on their houses. They do not invite other Hungarians to participate in any church activities, nor do they love them. They are happier to go to Romanian churches than the pagan temples of the other Hungarians.

All Romanians who live in Hungary, Transylvania and Maramureş have the same origin as the Moldavians, they originate from Rome.

Transylvania has all the food necessary to sustain human life; there is so much bread that nobody buys it and there is plenty for everybody; there is wine everywhere and nobody lacks it, plenty of good honey out of which they make an excellent light red mead.

In earlier times, Hungary had been a very large country, comprising a substantial part of Turkey as well, and the seat of the kingdom was not at Alba Iulia [Gyulafehérvár], where it is today, but in Buda, which is now in Turkish hands. Since the Turks took Belgrade [Nándorfehérvár], which was the stronghold not only of Hungary, but also of Christianity in the

[26] The term "lotori" could possibly be implied to mean "Lutherans." Ureche, *Letopiseţul*, 124.

[27] The edition of this text offers an explanation of this term by Endre Veress, according to whom it should be read as "calandoş", in another manuscript of the chronicle it is spelled as "calaişio" (*kalaishio*). However, the meaning remains unclear. Ureche, *Letopiseţul*, 124.

> West, they also took Buda, which was the seat of the Kingdom of Hungary. Therefore, [the Hungarians] moved their seat to Gyulafehérvár, situated in Transylvania, but did not have any rest because the Germans, being at war with the Turks, received help from the Hungarians, whose territory they used to attack the Turks, and the Turks in turn raided the Germans by crossing their territory. The Hungarians, seeing so much destruction and shortage, both at the hands of the Turks and the Germans, and not getting any rest from fighting, became disillusioned and decided to place their country under Turkish suzerainty, and accepted a prince appointed by [the Turks], the same as in our principalities. The Germans, seeing that their ally deserted them and submitted to their enemy, took half of Upper Hungary from the Hungarians, which they still hold today.
>
> Once a great country, Hungary was torn into smaller pieces, part of it taken by the Turks, including the seat of Buda, and another part by the Germans; only Transylvania remained in the hands of the Hungarians, but under Turkish suzerainty.
>
> Hungarians are resourceful and disloyal, cunning, and do not hold friendship in high regard. One cannot pass through Transylvania without a royal letter. And they keep secrets so well that one is not able to find out the truth even from peasants. They give very fair sentences at trials; however, if one does not like the law in one place, one can freely choose a different tribunal wherever one sees fit. Even in the case when a certain difference in opinion occurs between one and the king, one can challenge him at the seat of the country, where all the lords gather to debate the matters of the country, and if one is done injustice, one will receive justice. Not even the king can condemn a nobleman without proving his guilt.

This excerpt reveals not only the extent of information that historians from the neighbouring countries had about Transylvania, Hungary and the Hungarians, but also what they viewed as worthy of mentioning. Undoubtedly, the aspects that raised the biggest interest were the religious diversity of the Hungarians and their judiciary customs, which were different from those across the Carpathians.

The Moldavian chronicler Miron Costin also refers to the origin of Hungarians, although he does not give us a general characterisation of them. He considers it a matter of fact that "the Hungarians are descendants of Attila khan."[28] [sic] In his work on the history of Moldavia, he paints a negative picture of the Hun leader: "These lands were overrun by Attila and his Hungarians. He founded Hungary and many have suffered at his hand the world over, and in these countries he was regarded as Batu."[29]

[28] Costin, *Opere*, 206. The myth of Hun-Magyar kinship can be traced back to the Middle Ages.
[29] Ibid., 227.

Apart from Ureche's chronicle, Radu Popescu's *Istoriile domnilor Ţării Româneşti* also contains general reflections on the Hungarians. In discussing Michael the Brave's[30] exploits in Transylvania (1599–1601), Popescu states that "the Hungarians have always been against the German emperor."[31] The chronicle concludes in the same context, that "the Hungarians are cunning in character,"[32] because despite swearing allegiance to Voivod Mihai, they were plotting to bring back the prince of Transylvania, Sigismund Báthory.[33]

Similarly, the unknown writer of the history of Wallachia between 1290 and 1690 blames the events of these years (1599–1601), more precisely the murder of Voivod Michael (1601),[34] on the "evil and cunning" Transylvanians advising Giorgio Basta, governor of Transylvania (1602–1604): "For all this we must curse Giorgio Basta, who listened to the Hungarian lords and had the entirely innocent Voivod Michael killed."[35]

The *Istoriia Ţării Rumâneşti* of Constantin Cantacuzino contains general reflections on the Hungarians as well, quoting often Bonfini. In challenging the view according to which the inhabitants of Moldavia are the descendants of the robbers and villains that the Hungarian king, Saint Ladislaus (1077–1095), received as help from Rome against the Tartars, Cantacuzino claims:

> the Hungarians were hostile to and envious of the Romanians, and had they had the opportunity, they would have suppressed all of them, the same as they did with most of those [Romanians] who presently live in Transylvania, turning them into serfs, as they call them. Now, there are many Romanian noblemen in Transylvania and in the entire Maramureş [Máramaros] as well. Apart from them, most of the boyars are Romanians or have Romanian origins, and given that the rulers of the country are Calvinists and given that they [the Romanians] serve at court, they converted to Calvinism and therefore are called Hungarians: by changing their faith, they changed their name as 'Romanians' as well.[36]

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[30] Michael the Brave (Mihai Viteazul), voivod of Wallachia (1593–1601), governor of Transylvania (1599–1601).
[31] Popescu Vornicul, *Istoriile*, 78.
[32] Ibid., 79.
[33] Sigismund Báthory, prince of Transylvania (1588–Dec. 1597; Aug. 1598–Mar. 1599; Apr. 1601–Jun. 1602).
[34] Basta lost faith in Voivod Michael, this is the reason why he had him killed.
[35] *Istoria Ţării Româneşti 1290–1690*, 82.
[36] Cantacuzino, *Istoriia*, 66–67.

As for the origin of the Hungarians, Cantacuzino is a devotee of the Hun-Magyar myth: "the Huns, namely those Scythians whom we call Hungarians today."[37] The author also discusses the origins of the Hungarian language. He interestingly adds that he learned from Gheorghe Brancovici himself, his good friend, and who worked for him in his library.[38] When he travelled with his brother, the metropolitan bishop of Transylvania, Sava Brancovici,[39] to the Russian tsar in 1688 as the envoy of the Transylvanian Prince George Rákóczi II (1648–1660) [sic], he witnessed with his own ears the stunning similitude between the language of the Hungarians and that of peoples living in Russia, whom we now know belong to the Finno-Ugric language family.[40] He describes the settlement of the Hungarians and the age of migrations by quoting Bonfini and emphasising the Hungarians' excellent military skills and courage, on the one hand, and the terror they spread across Europe, on the other. In his analysis, he obviously followed the Italian chronicler of King Matthias Corvinus, as well as the sources that he quotes, but his personal experiences with the Hungarians do not appear in the text.[41] He concludes the chapter on the Hungarians, whom he wished to describe because of their vicinity, with a description of their wars with Rome as well as a detailed portrait of Attila the Hun.[42]

Dimitrie Cantemir's *Descriptio Moldaviae* contains a few indications on the manner in which the erudite prince perceived the Hungarians, especially the ethnic-Hungarian Csángós.[43] He claims: "The Russians and Hungarians from Moldavia are condemned to eternal servitude," since "there is no pure Moldavian peasant, and those whom we find here are either Russian or Transylvanian, or as we say it here, of Hungarian origin."[44] He approvingly notes that the Moldavian "Hungarians who follow the faith of Rome proved to be more attached to it and their ancient language [in comparison with the Poles], but all of them speak the Moldavian lan-

[37] Ibid., 96–98.
[38] Gheorghe Brancovici (György Brankovics), Transylvanian diplomat (1645–1711).
[39] Sava Brancovici, Transylvanian, Greek Orthodox bishop (?–1683)
[40] Cantacuzino, *Istoriia*, 99–100. Brancovici, upon meeting "Scythian ambassadors of Ugric descent" at the court of the tsar, observed: "talking Hungarian with them, I concluded that it is true, many of their words are the same as the Hungarians', only 'thicker' and 'rougher' than theirs." Ibid.
[41] Ibid., 101–102.
[42] Ibid., 103–108.
[43] Csángó: Hungarian emigrant population in Moldavia originating from the Szeklerland in several waves from the 13th until the mid-19th century.
[44] Cantemir, *Moldva*, 174–175.

guage as well."[45] Cantemir's *Hronicul romano–moldo–vlahilor*, considered his magnum opus, does not contain any relevant information about the image of the Hungarians.

It is worth analysing the manner in which the authors of the aforementioned historical works wrote about the renowned personalities of Hungarian history, including the Transylvanian ones, as it provides an insight into the image of the Hungarians as well. Obviously, one cannot separate their assessment from the role that these personalities played at certain points in the history of Moldavia and Wallachia, which proved decisive in the manner of their depiction.

In the sixteenth-century chronicles, due to their subject matter and the borders of the examined period, there is somewhat more mention of the prominent figures of medieval Hungary, but always only in relation to concrete events, with at most a few words to characterise them. In this way King Saint Ladislaus is mentioned, whom the author considers to be Orthodox "at heart."[46] Most commonly mentioned is King Matthias Corvinus, though almost entirely due to his relationship to the Moldavian Voivod Stephen the Great, in particular his involvement in the Battle of Moldvabánya (Baia) (1467).[47] The *Viaţa lui Vlad Ţepeş* likewise deals with King Matthias Corvinus, which discusses the alleged kinship of Vlad Ţepeş, voivod of Wallachia (1456–1462), and the Hungarian king.[48]

Ureche also presents King Matthias Corvinus in connection with his military campaign in Moldavia from 1467. In his opinion, "Matthias, the king of the Hungarians, who was confident in his strength and skills, which helped him destroy and conquer many of his neighbours, and who fought many battles against the Ottomans, winning against them with luck," attacked Stephen the Great,

> without any real motive, the only one being his desire to subjugate him, to make him obedient, to make his word supreme, in which King Matthias took great pride on numerous occasions, saying that Stephen owed his victories to his [Matthias's] strength and that they can be attributed to the fact that the prince [Stephen] is his subject.[49]

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[45] Ibid., 176.
[46] *Cronica moldo-rusă*, in *Cronicile slavo-române*, 158.
[47] Stephen the Great (Ştefan cel Mare), voivod of Moldavia, 1457–1504; *Cronica moldo-polonă*, in *Cronicile slavo-române*, 178, *Cronica moldo-germană*, in *Cronicile slavo-române*, 29.
[48] *Viaţa lui Vlad Ţepeş*, in *Cronicile slavo-române*, 213.
[49] Ureche, *Letopiseţul*, 85.

Consequently, the military campaign occurred because Stephen the Great refused to accept the role of subject. Once Matthias's soldiers entered Moldavia, they started "looting and robbing," and burning towns. Later, when they camped at Baia, the Moldavians succeeded in setting the camp on fire because Matthias "did not care about anything, he did not even post sentinels, being more interested in drinking and looting."[50] The Moldavians successfully chased them out of the country "because [Matthias's soldiers] were inebriated and unprepared for battle,"[51] the wounded king himself escaping back into Transylvania using various routes. Ureche summarises the lessons of Matthias's campaign in Moldavia in the following way: "This is how God rewards the proud and the valiant in order to point out how fleeting and untrue human things are, because God does not reveal His powers in many, but in few, so that nobody yearns for His power and trusts only in God and does not start any war that is not to His liking."[52] King Matthias Corvinus and the Hungarians are thus presented in a very negative way.

Miron Costin, in his work on the Kingdom of Hungary, would have had plenty of opportunity to describe historical figures, but he chose instead to place most of the emphasis on the events themselves, focusing particularly on the battles against the Turks. It is interesting to note that neither János Hunyadi's[53] (whom he calls "Corvin hatman," or "Corvin King," and whose military skills he praises),[54] nor King Matthias's Romanian ancestry is mentioned, and later he makes no mention of Wallachian Voivod Michael's Transylvanian involvement either.[55] John Szapolyai is mentioned mainly in connection with events concerning Petru Rareş, and since the former locked the latter in Csicsó (Ciceu) Castle, Macarie's chronicle describes him as being "malignant."[56]

Miron Costin makes the following presentation of Sigismund Báthory in connection with the events[57] from around 1600: "Sigismund Báthory,

[50] Ibid.
[51] Ibid.
[52] Ibid., 86.
[53] János Hunyadi, leading figure in the battles against the Ottomans, voivod of Transylvania (1441–1446), then governor of Hungary (1446–1452), father of the later King Matthias Corvinus.
[54] Costin, *Opere*, 281, 282.
[55] Ibid., 309.
[56] "Cronica lui Macarie," in *Cronicile slavo-romîne*, 101.
[57] Sigismund Báthory repeatedly renounced the throne of Transylvania to the Habsburgs between 1588 and 1602, and once to his cousin, Cardinal Andrew Báthory.

prince of Transylvania, having reached an old age[58] and being forsaken by his noblemen, and seeing that the Turks grew stronger each year, yearned to annex Transylvania; now old and tired of the dignity, and having chosen to rest in his old age, he was aware that none of his kindred was able to save Transylvania from the Turks,"[59] which explains the fact that "he reached an agreement with his brother-in-law, the German emperor," whom he entrusted with the affairs of Transylvania, receiving in exchange the Silesian duchies of Oppeln (Opole) and Ratibor (Racibórz).

Obviously, the portrait of the prince withdrawn from the world due to his old age seems very strange knowing that in reality he was only 25 years old at that moment, which cannot be viewed as old age even considering the average lifespan at the time. It seems that the historian, even if unwillingly, tries to justify Báthory's incoherent political moves by alluding to his age, which eventually led to the unfolding of Voivod Michael's career.

Radu Popescu in turn was less lenient towards Mózes Székely, who acted as prince of Transylvania for a very short period between May and July 1603. In his opinion: "the Devil, who always stirs a feud, penetrated [his] heart, and he raised an army with the intention of destroying and subjugating [Wallachia]."[60] The chronicler recounts with outrage and bafflement that Prince Radu Şerban of Wallachia, immediately upon hearing this news, sent his boyars to Székely with expensive gifts in order to appease him and earn his goodwill, but he did not even want to hear about it and haughtily declared that "he wanted to do harm to them." After all this, it is hardly surprising that Popescu expresses his satisfaction when talking about the death of the "disdainful" Mózes Székely in the ensuing battle.

Concerning the person of the Transylvanian Prince Gabriel Báthory (1608–1613), it is not at all surprising that he appears in a negative context in the aforementioned sources, given the role that he played in the history of the territories from across the Carpathians (the occupation of Wallachia in 1611). Miron Costin introduces Báthory in a relatively lengthy fashion, whom he depicts as rather repulsive. He considers Báthory's lifestyle to be "unscrupulous and shameless," describing his debauchery at length.[61] Báthory, considered an even greater enemy than Mózes Székely, is called "hideous" because he attacked Wallachia without warning: "Three months did the wretched spend in the country robbing, looting and burning, for which there was and will never be need in our land. That is exactly why,

[58] Báthory was actually 25 years old at the time.
[59] Costin, *Letopiseţul*, 14.
[60] Popescu Vornicul, *Istoriile*, 81.
[61] Costin, *Opere*, 309.

ever since then, there has been a saying: 'when the evil Hungarians…'"[62] The other parts of the text also reveal that the characterisation of the prince was transferred upon all Hungarians. Radu Popescu recounts the deeds of the "ruthless," "mismanaging," "insane" destroyer of the country, Báthory, with obvious distaste. When mentioning the murder of Báthory, "everybody was thankful to God that He delivered the country from the Hungarians."[63] Later, one is able to deduce Popescu's satisfaction with the assassination of Báthory, since Transylvania "suffered a great deal because of his lunacy,"[64] and thus it became possible that "this madman be prevented from bringing further evil upon this country."[65]

The characterisation of Gabriel Bethlen, prince of Transylvania (1613–1629), is much more positive. Miron Costin wrote with admiration about the great prince's deeds as well as his abilities as a military leader and tactician.[66] Popescu also appreciates his political abilities, which caused him "to be elected to the throne of the Hungarians."[67] At the news of his death, he writes in an admiring tone:

> Some days ago, Gabriel Bethlen, prince of Transylvania and lord of the Hungarian lands, passed away and was buried at Gyulafehérvár (Alba Iulia), the princely seat; he fought many battles against the Germans and others, and luck was always on his side, and his [reign] will always be remembered.[68]

The rather peaceful reign of the Transylvanian Prince George Rákóczi I (1630–1648) did not leave many traces in the Moldavian and Wallachian narrative sources. Conversely, there is much talk about the more eventful reign of his son, George Rákóczi II (1648–1660), and his personality. According to Costin, Rákóczi II "was a young man who lived in prosperity and wealth, and strove to become famous"; this, for instance, made him rush to the rescue of the embattled Voivod of Wallachia, Constantin Şerban (1654–1658), in 1655.[69] He describes Rákóczi's behaviour at the feast that he organised together with Constantin Şerban and the Moldavian Voivod Gheorghe Ştefan (1653–1658) at Gherghiţa (1655) in the following manner: "had one seen how Rákóczi revelled in the thoughts of majes-

[62] Popescu Vornicul, *Istoriile*, 82.
[63] Ibid.
[64] Ibid., 84.
[65] *Istoria Ţării Româneşti 1290–1690*, 90.
[66] Costin, *Letopiseţul*, 39–40.
[67] Popescu Vornicul, *Istoriile*, 88.
[68] Ibid., 93.
[69] Costin, *Letopiseţul*, 178.

ty and grandeur, how he saw himself as king of all kings and lord of all lords. Luck is blind when on the rise, slippery when standing still, and fast slipping on the downward slope."[70] Costin emphasises Rákóczi's great ambition elsewhere as well, saying, "the knyaz [sic] of Transylvania, George Rákóczi, whose desires urged him to great deeds, tried to obtain the Polish throne."[71] Costin paints another portrait of Rákóczi, recognising the prince's courage during the final Battle of Szászfenes (Floreşti) (22 May 1660), which he describes in detail, emphasising that on the eve of the battle, he led the charge along with a group of "soldiers that he had handpicked."[72] Even then, when the ranks of the cavalry were broken, Rákóczi continued the charge even more vigorously and more fiercely until he was fatally wounded. Despite this generally positive opinion, Costin suspects him of ordering the poisoning of the Wallachian Prince Radu Mihnea III Radu (1658–1659), who had taken refuge in Transylvania. The Moldavian chronicler makes the following general assessment of Rákóczi's reign: "This is how Rákóczi's life ended, a lord born into great fortune, the most fortunate among the fortunate knyazs. Lo and behold, to what the insatiable lust for fame lurking in human nature can lead."[73]

The chronicle of Radu Popescu also discusses more extensively the personality of George Rákóczi II. In Popescu's opinion, the prince (whom he calls king), abounding in money and armies, did not enjoy in peace the prosperity which he had inherited from his father George Rákóczi I, because he did not content himself with what his father owned, but strove for more, setting his sights on the Polish throne.[74] Apart from describing the Polish campaign, the chronicler makes a detailed account of the deceitful manner in which Rákóczi II had János [sic] Barcsay killed.[75]

Miron Costin pays homage to Mihály Apafi I, prince of Transylvania (1661–1690), whom he knew personally, giving voice to his appreciation:

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[70] Ibid., 182.
[71] Ibid., 184. "Knyaz" is an East-Slavic word for prince, also used in Romanian.
[72] Ibid., 216–218.
[73] Ibid., 218.
[74] Popescu Vornicul, *Istoriile*, 116.
[75] Ibid., 120. The correct name is Ákos instead of János. Once again, we are dealing with a mistake, since Rákóczi II had already been dead for a year when Prince János Kemény of Transylvania (1661–1662) ordered the assassination of Ákos Barcsay, prince of Transylvania (1558–1660), at Kozmatelke (Cozmeni). Popescu also incorrectly mentions that Rákóczi II was fatally wounded at Gyula instead of Gyalu (Gilău).

"no one can claim that his rule did not bring happiness, nor that there is not still great peace throughout."[76]

As for the Transylvanian Prince Emmerich Thököly's uprising (1690),[77] Popescu underlines the anti-German attitude of the Hungarians.[78] Furthermore, Neculce uses an overtly anti-Thököly tone when he briefly describes its implications across the Carpathians, as well as when he recounts the Battle of Zernyest (Zărneşti) (1690). In his opinion, Thököly "ruined, burned and pillaged" everything that came in the path of his armies, destroying Hungary.[79] He also recounts that when Thököly withdrew to Wallachia from Transylvania, he and his armies caused much harm to the country, and by the time he left for Turkey, the number of his men had drastically diminished, because Prince Brâncoveanu of Wallachia (1688–1714) secretly ordered the killing of many *kuruc* soldiers.[80]

Francis Rákóczi II, prince of Transylvania (1704–1711) is only mentioned in connection with the uprising that he led against Habsburg rule. As for Neculce, he emphasises the anti-German character of the uprising.[81] The chronicler, in discussing the history of Wallachia in the period 1688–1717, makes a succinct presentation of the events:

> Rákóczi, the grandchild of George Rákóczi, [II] king of Transylvania [sic], issued a call to arms to all Hungarians living in Upper Hungary and Transylvania, and all of them took up their swords and went to fight their German foes, wreaking havoc among them, slaying many and taking

[76] Costin, *Opere*, 314.

[77] Following the Wesselényi plot (1670), the Imperial Court in Vienna began introducing a series of absolutist measures. Social unrest began manifesting itself in the form of the insurrectionist movement, which began in 1672, was led by Emmerich Thököly (1657–1705) of Késmárk from 1678 onwards, who also enjoyed the support of Porte. In 1682 the sultan, in exchange for 40,000 thalers' annual tax, recognised the country's north-eastern regions as a vassal state, much like Transylvania, which then fell apart in 1685 when the movement declined. During the Ottoman counter-attack of 1690, the sultan briefly declared Thököly prince of Transylvania, although not much later he had to flee to Wallachia, ending his life in exile in the Ottoman Empire.

[78] Popescu Vornicul, *Istoriile*, 178.

[79] Neculce, *Letopiseţul*, 181.

[80] Kuruc: Hungarian militants who, following the exposure of the Wesselényi plot (1670), fought against Habsburg autocracy, particularly under the leadership of Emmerich Thököly (1678–1685), then Francis Rákóczi II (1703–1711). Neculce, *Letopiseţul*, 182; the other chronicle, entitled *Istoria Ţării Româneşti* and dealing with the history of Wallachia in the period 1688–1717, provides a similar account of Thököly's stay in Wallachia. *Istoria Ţării Româneşti*, 32–33.

[81] Neculce, *Letopiseţul*, 224.

> many of their castles […] And for eight years, they defended their power with the weapons; but after these eight years, they were deceived by the false promises of the Germans and deserted Rákóczi, going over to the Germans.[82]

He also recounts that "the Germans," aware that the insurgents left their families at home, "raided the castles, towns and villages like wolf packs raiding a flock of lambing sheep, tyrannically, barbarically, mercilessly and bloodily slaughtering women and children whose blood will eternally cry to God for vengeance."[83]

Some of the stories that deal with the treatment that Romanian refugees experienced in Transylvania reveal the Hungarians' hospitality and readiness to help. For instance, Ureche describes how the Moldavian Prince Petru Rareş (1541–1546) was directed to the house of a Hungarian nobleman, where the wife of the latter received him, then offered him a carriage, and arranged for him to be accompanied by armed guards on his way to the castle of Csicsó.[84] Popescu recounts a similar event, presenting the Hungarian nobleman István Lázár of Szárhegy (Lăzarea) as a friend of the Moldavian Cantacuzino family, who, when the need had arisen, provided shelter in his mansion at Gheorgheni (Gyergyószentmiklós) for all those forced to move into exile.[85]

From the above-mentioned accounts, it follows that the image of Hungarians found in Moldavian and Wallachian narrative sources was largely developed through relations with Transylvanian Hungarians. One is able to trace only short pieces of information on the history of the Kingdom of Hungary besides Transylvania. Example are a brief news report of the fall of the castle at Eger (1596),[86] a short account by Popescu (who mentions a certain "History of Hungary" as a source) of the four members of the Esterházy family who fell in the Battle of Vezekény (Veľké Vozokany) on 25 August 1652,[87] as well as a somewhat longer account of the conspiracy of Zrínyi, Frangepán and Nádasdy and their execution (1671). After emphasising the "anti-German" character of the movement, he mentions: "On orders from the Emperor, they confiscated many Lutheran and Calvinist

[82] *Istoria Ţării Româneşti*, 106.
[83] Ibid., X.
[84] Ureche, *Letopiseţul*, 144.
[85] Popescu Vornicul, *Istoriile*, 152.
[86] *Istoria Ţării Româneşti 1290–1690*, 66.
[87] *Istoria Ţării Româneşti 1290–1690*, 110. The battle of the Royal Hungarian Troops, headed by Adam Forgách, captain general of Érsekújvár (Nové Zámky) against Ottoman troops invading north Hungarian mining towns, in which four members of the Esterházy family fell: László, Ferenc, Tamás and Gáspár.

churches and turned them into Papist churches in Upper Hungary, and did many more evil deeds."[88]

In conclusion, the reason why the analysed sources contain less information on the Hungarians than one might expect can be attributed to the fact that in Moldavia and Wallachia religious and ecclesiastical literature was the dominant field of writing at that time, and as such, due to their strong event-based and descriptive character, they only briefly deal with the Hungarians, or any other people for that matter, and provide mainly general considerations. It is also clear that the Moldavian and Wallachian authors mention the Hungarians and the events relating to them only when they are directly connected to the history of the two principalities. This completely understandable aspect is also justified by the fact that in the case of Moldavia, the chronicles deal more with Poland and the Poles, with which the principality obviously had much closer ties. Therefore, as it became evident above, the potential readers of the chronicles (a relatively small group in a mostly illiterate society, primarily circulating these works in handwritten form) could form an image of the Hungarians based on often unreliable and exaggerated portraits of princes. Such a tendency towards generalisations clearly transpires from the texts. The works of Stolnicul Constantin Cantacuzino and Dimitrie Cantemir—the two seventeenth- and eighteenth-century authors—are somewhat different because they primarily deal with the relationship between Romanians, on the one hand, and the Dacians and Romans, on the other, while taking into consideration mainly the international literature on the topics.

The image of Hungarians in Romanian narrative sources was largely formed in connection with Transylvania. Generally speaking, we can say that the authors use the terms "Hungary" and "Transylvania" synonymously, not differentiating between the Hungarians from Transylvania and Hungary. They often even call the prince of Transylvania a king. The chronicler Radu Popescu Vornicul provides an explanation for this. He thinks it is a sign of the political continuity of the line of John Szapolyai and his son John Sigismund (elected king of Hungary 1540–1571 and prince of Transylvania), adding that, much like Moldavia and Wallachia, we are actually talking about princes.[89] The authors make rare reference to the history of the Hungarian monarchy following the establishment of the independent Principality of Transylvania. It is clear that in their opinion, Transylvania is the heir to the medieval Kingdom of Hungary, whilst the Kingdom of Hungary is under Habsburg rule. At the same time, these

[88] Popescu Vornicul, *Istoriile*, 144.
[89] Ibid., 47.

sources reveal that despite occasional cooperation and the Romanian sense of togetherness, the Moldavian and Wallachian chroniclers' approach does not reflect the expression popularised later in Romanian historiography, particularly in the twentieth century, of the "three Romanian countries," nor does a hostile attitude characterise these works.

CROWN AND KINGDOM IN THE REPUBLIC: THE CULTURAL CONSTRUCTION AND LITERARY REPRESENTATION OF EARLY MODERN HUNGARY IN THE LOW COUNTRIES (1588–1648)

KEES TESZELSZKY

This study explores the cultural geography of early modern Europe and the manner in which the image of Hungary and Transylvania and their inhabitants was appropriated and manipulated in the Low Countries in the period of Habsburg rule, during the Dutch Revolt and in the first years of the Dutch Republic, taking into account the political, religious and cultural developments in both territories. It examines how the idea of Hungary first entered the Dutch imagination, how it evolved into a commonplace of political rhetoric, and how it was ultimately incorporated into Dutch culture. The aim is therefore also to study the ways in which the Dutch saw themselves as a people in relation to others, and how they perceived the place of their republic in the world amidst other states. The term "Dutch," as used in this study, follows the definition of Benjamin Schmidt and refers to the early modern community living in the territory of the Low Countries, which was outstandingly urban and phenomenally literate.[1] It was a self-aware, well-informed community, open to the world outside the Low Countries. These people and their elite were responsible for a striking political, economic and cultural expansion that started in the north of the Low Countries at the end of the sixteenth century and peaked around 1650. After the truce with Spain in 1612, this community continued to compete with its Flemish relatives and their Habsburg rulers in the south by means of a cultural war. Over almost one hundred years, the Dutch produced a vast quantity of literature and art expressing their developing identity in chronicles, broadsides, newspapers, tracts, paintings and en-

[1] B. Schmidt, *Innocence Abroad: The Dutch Imagination and the New World, 1570–1670* (Cambridge 2001), xxiv.

gravings, in which representations of Hungary and the Hungarians, their rulers and national symbols, played a modest but remarkable role.[2]

The Batavian myth and Hungary

Around 1515, the Dutch humanist and Augustinian canon regular Cornelius Aurelius Gerardi of Gouda (ca. 1460–1531) completed a large chronicle that would later be known as the *Divisiekroniek* (Chronicle in parts). Aurelius, a close and influential friend of Erasmus, was crowned *poeta laureatus* in 1508 by Emperor Maximilian II (1493–1519). His chronicle traced the history of Holland, Zeeland and Friesland from the creation of the world up to his own day. The publication of this large illustrated volume in 1517 by the Leyden printer Jan Seversz must have been sponsored by a rich and powerful local noble family, perhaps the Van Wassenaers.[3] The chronicle became one of the main sources of the so-called Batavian myth, the legend of the origins of the Dutch people of Holland that supported their political claims to ancient rights and freedoms.

The Hungarians and the territory of Hungary were given a prominent role at the start of Aurelius's narrative. According to him, the ancestors of the inhabitants of Holland, the Batavians, originated from the territory of Hungary:

> The Batavians or Dutch originate from a people called Hermonduren, who lived in a great wood named Hercinia. […] This was in Upper Pannonia, which is Hungary, at the Scythians, and they were neighbours of other peoples such as the Catten, Cerusen and Ligyen, who lived in Hungary.[4]

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[2] N. Mout, "Das Bild Ungarns in der Niederländischen öffentlichen Meinung des 16. Jahrhunderts," in *Művelődési törekvések a korai újkorban. Tanulmányok Keserű Bálint tiszteletére* [Cultural efforts in the early modern period. Studies in honour of Bálint Keserű], ed. by M. Balázs et al. (Szeged 1997), 415–432.

[3] R. van der Laarse, "De ontdekking van de oudheid. Adellijke identiteitspolitiek in de Bourgondisch–Habsburgse Nederlanden" [The discovery of antiquity. Noble identity politics in the Burgundian Habsburg Netherlands], *Virtus* 18 (2001), 9–18.

[4] "Die Bataviers oft Hollanders nemen horen oerspronck ende ofcoemst vant volck die men hiet Hermonduren, gelegen boven dat grote bosch ende wildernisse geheten Hercinia […] Ende boven Pannonien, dats Hongerien, bi den Schyten, ende waren gebuyren mitten volcke die men hiet Catten, Cerusen, Ligyen, omtrent Hongerien gelegen." C. Aurelius, *Die cronycke van Hollandt Zeelandt en Vrieslant…* [The chronicle of Holland, Zeeland and Friesland] (Leiden 1517), f. 11^{r}.

The Batavians sprang from a Hungarian prince named Battus or Battavus (Batt-*avus*, or the ancestor of the Batavians):

> The prince Battus, or Battavus, who came from Scythia or somewhere near, from Pannonia or Hungary, as has been told, from whom this country is called Batavia, has founded a large and strong city at the mouth of the river Rhine, and has called this city after his name Battavoduren.[5]

The chronicler also explained why the Batavians left Hungary. According to him, they were involved in the production of salt from rivers in Pannonia, but this brought them into conflict with other peoples living on the same land. The Batavians therefore left their country in search of a new home, which they finally found in the Low Countries. They were joined by Battus's brother Salando, who gave his name to the territory below Holland, Zeeland, where the inhabitants are still involved in extracting salt from the sea.

It is clear that Aurelius did not relate the Dutch to the well-known medieval image of Hungarians in Europe, or to the medieval Hun-Hungarian topos in his Batavian myth.[6] Aurelius depicted the Dutch as a non-belligerent people from Hungary, rather than the descendants of the fierce and brave Huns. They simply wanted to do their business in peace and to live in a country where they could do it best.

The first uses of Hungarian topoi in the Low Countries and the rest of Western Europe can be linked to the development of the strong and influential cult of the members of the Árpád dynasty, the first rulers of Hungary in the eleventh century. Following the example of other European royal families, a dynastic cult was initiated in 1083 by King Ladislaus I (1077–1095) with the canonisation of three members of his royal dynasty.[7] Another illustrious and popular saint of the dynasty was Saint Elisabeth (1207–1237), daughter of King Andrew II of Hungary, who married Louis IV, landgrave of Thuringia, in 1221. She was canonised in 1235, shortly

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[5] "Die prince Battus, of Battavus, comende uut Scythien of daer omtrent, uut Pannonien ofte Hongerien, als voerseit is, van denwelcken dit lant Batavia genoemt is, heeft ghesticht een alten groten ende swaren stadt, bi die mont van den Rijn, ende heeft se na sijn eijgen naem ghenoemt Battavoduren." Aurelius, *Die cronycke*, f. 11^{v}.

[6] For an example of the Dutch use of the Hun-Hungarian topos, see the influential Flemish chronicle of M. van Vaernewyck, *De historie van Belgis* [The history of Belgium] (Ghendt 1574), f. 86^{v}.

[7] G. Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses: Dynastic Cults in Medieval Central Europe*, trans. by É. Pálmai (Cambridge 2002), 123–134.

after her death in 1231. Many other royal families subsequently set about establishing ties to this Hungarian saint.[8]

The cult of the Árpád dynasty reached the Low Countries when Sophie of Thuringia (1224–1275), daughter of Saint Elisabeth, married Henry, duke of Brabant, in 1241, and was widowed in 1248. Brabant was at that time the richest part of the Netherlands. Sophie exploited her mother's prestige to the utmost in order to legitimate her own and her son's claim to power. She won Thuringia for her son, Henry, after challenging her rival to swear on a rib of her holy mother that Thuringia was his rightful inheritance. She also successfully claimed the county of Hessen, which she ruled as regent for her son Henry, by virtue of being *filia sanctae Elizabeth* or *nata sanctae Elizabeth*.[9] The prestige of Saint Elisabeth of Hungary and the Hungarian heritage was used by the House of Hesse at least until the seventeenth century in the Netherlands. Maurice the Learned, landgrave of Hesse-Kassel (1570–1632), even mastered the Hungarian language and sponsored the publication of books in Hungarian.[10] In 1580, an unknown Flemish author described in an extremely well-known Dutch folktale about the popular hero Tijl Uylenspiegel, how a (fictive) count of Hesse commissioned paintings of his forefathers, Hungarian kings and princes, to decorate his castle.[11]

The cult of Saint Elisabeth became firmly rooted in Dutch culture from the second half of the thirteenth century due to Sophie's efforts. She received four miraculous statues of the Holy Virgin Mary from her mother on her deathbed, three of which she presented to Mathilde, countess of Holland and Zeeland, the other going to the Carmelites in Vilvoorde. When the countess died in 1267, one statue was presented to the church in Halle, one to the Carmelites in Haarlem, and one to the church in 's–Gravenzande.[12] These became popular places of pilgrimage after 1267 and centres of devotion to Saint Elisabeth.[13]

After the cult of Saint Elisabeth had become rooted in the Netherlands, Hungary, its kings and saints, and even the Hungarian people, came to play a remarkable and positive role in medieval and early modern epic, re-

[8] Ibid., 209.
[9] Ibid., 217.
[10] A. Szenci Molnár, *Psalterium Ungaricum* (Herborn 1607), 6.
[11] *Van Ulenspieghels leuen* [On the life of Uylenspiegel] (Antwerp 1580), f. C4^{r}.
[12] J. Lipsius, *Diva Virgo Hallensis. Beneficia eius & miracula fide atque ordine descripta* (Antwerp 1604), 4–8.
[13] An overview of pilgrim places is available at http://www.meertens.knaw.nl/bedevaart/bol/zoekresultaat/elisabeth, accessed on 24 June 2014.

ligious and historical literature in the Low Countries.[14] Symbolic Hungarian royal figures, Hungarian noblemen or references to the Kingdom of Hungary were included in many Dutch folktales and epic songs that were popular in the early modern period as well.[15] Jacob Maerlant (1239–1299), a Flemish poet and one of the most important Middle Dutch authors, included a short but detailed biography of King Saint Stephen of Hungary (1000–1038) and other Hungarian saints in his world history in verse *Spieghel historiael*, composed in the last quarter of the thirteenth century.[16] Around 1322, Jan de Clerc from Antwerp wrote about how the ancestors of the dukes of Brabant had fled Troy and moved to Hungary.[17] Some of the lesser noble families also included references to their supposed Hungarian roots. According to the fifteenth-century chronicle of the lords of Arckel, preserved in several sixteenth-century manuscripts, their ancestor was a nobleman from Hungary.[18]

The work of Aurelius was thus the continuation of an already existing medieval tradition of noble identity in the Low Countries, in which Hungary was an important part of the cultural geography. The Batavian myth about the Hungarian origin of the Dutch people fits well into the general context, where appropriating the classical past was an inherent element of humanist projects. Emphasising the Hungarian roots of the Dutch, whether noble or non-noble, was generally intended to confirm the unique position of the Dutch between the French and the German lands and to legitimate their ancient privileges against their foreign ruler.

Aurelius's prestige as a recognised scholar and respected humanist ensured that the topos of Hungary and the Hungarians in the prehistory of the Dutch people became firmly established and that the Batavian myth be-

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[14] The cult of Saint Gerhard, bishop of Csanád in Hungary, was promoted by the Carmelites in the Low Countries and a large body of literature about his life was written there in the 15th century. Cf. A. Jotischky, "Saint Gerard of Csanád and the Carmelites: Apocryphal Sidelights on the First Crusades," in *Autour de la premiére Croisade (Actes du Colloque de la "Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East," Clermont–Ferrand, 22–25 June 1995)*, ed. by Michel Balard (Paris 1996), 143–155.

[15] For an overview, see *Repertorium van eigennamen in Middelnederlandse literaire teksten* [Repertorium of proper names in Middle Dutch literary texts], ed. by W. Kuiper et al. (Amsterdam 1993–2011), available at http://cf.hum.uva.nl/dsp/scriptamanent/remlt/H.pdf, accessed on 26 June 2014.

[16] J. van Maerlant, L. van Velthem and P. Utenbroecke, *Spieghel historiael* [Mirror of history], vol. 3, ed. by M. de Vries and E. Verwijs (Leiden 1863), 277.

[17] Universiteitsbibliotheek Leiden, Ms. LTK 1019, f. 3r.

[18] *De comitatu Teysterbandiae, de dominio de Arckel…* Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Ms. 6045–6054. f. 1r–64r.

came one of the cornerstones of early modern Dutch identity.[19] Aurelius's chronicle found a receptive audience in the Low Countries: it was frequently reworked by other writers and artists.[20] The chronicle was reprinted several times in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In an appendix published in 1597, an account of the recent history of Hungary was also added.[21] The chronicle was even translated into French at the beginning of the seventeenth century in order to familiarise the Huguenot refugees with the ancient roots of the Dutch people.[22] Generations of young Dutch schoolchildren were taught that their mythical ancestors came from Hungary, as the chronicle was reprinted as a history textbook at least a dozen times up to 1800.[23]

Habsburg rule in the Low Countries and the Ottoman war in Hungary

The image of Hungary and the Hungarians changed in the Low Countries after the medieval kingdom came to an end at the Battle of Mohács in 1526 and Ferdinand I of Habsburg (1526–1564) claimed the Hungarian throne. Meanwhile, the Ottomans conquered large parts of Hungary and

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[19] K. Tilmans, *Aurelius en de Divisiekroniek van 1517. Hagiografie en humanisme in Holland in de tijd van Erasmus* [Aurelius and the "chronicle in parts" of 1517. Hagiography and humanism in Holland in the time of Erasmus] (Hilversum 1988); S. Schama, *The Embarrassment of Riches: An Interpretation of Dutch Culture in the Seventeenth Century* (New York 1987), 72; F. van Lieburg, "Hungary and the Batavian Myth," *Acta Ethnographica Hungarica* 49 (2004), 151–160.

[20] See the collection of the works of several Dutch chambers of rhetoric: *Den Redenrijke constliefhebbers stichtelicke recreatie* [The rhetorician art lover's edifying recreation], ed. by H. Lodowicks van Haestens and N. de Clerck (Leiden 1599), f. N3^{w}.

[21] *Appendix (…). Ende wort oock aengheroert, vande gedenckweerdichste dingen van datter vanden Turck in Hongerien geschiet is, vanden jare 1591 af, tot den wtganck des jaers duysent vijf hondert ende seven-en-tneghentich* [Appendix: In which reference will also be made to the most memorable things that happened to the Turks in Hungary, from the year 1591 until 1596] (Dordrecht 1597).

[22] J. F. Petit, *Grande Chronique ancienne et moderne de Hollande, Zelande, West-Frise, Utrecht, Frise, Overijssel et Groeningen, jusques à la fin de l'an 1600* (Dordrecht 1601).

[23] *Chronyke van de geschiedenissen in Holland, Zeeland, en Vriesland, en van de bisschoppen van Utrecht* (Amsterdam, 1740–1800). It was reprinted at least ten times by several different publishers in Amsterdam and Rotterdam, see Short-Title Catalogue Netherlands, available at http://picarta.pica.nl/, accessed on 26 June 2014.

occupied the capital, Buda, in 1541. After the Netherlands fell under Habsburg rule in 1506, the Habsburg dynasty started to utilise topoi related to Hungary. The Habsburgs exploited a specific image of Hungary in order to command the loyalty of the Dutch and to gain support against the Ottoman invaders of Hungary. The introduction of such topoi was closely related to the unifying and centralising tendencies of Habsburg rule in the Low Countries from 1506 onwards under Margaret of Austria. Aurelius attempted to counter Habsburg ambitions in 1517 by stressing the ancient roots of the privileges of the Dutch based on his construction of the Batavian myth. Queen Mary of Hungary was appointed governor of the Habsburg Netherlands in 1531 and her court settled in Brussels, where she promoted the cult of her deceased husband, Louis II, king of Hungary (1516–1526), in order to support the dynastic claims of the Habsburgs in the Low Countries.[24] The Habsburg rulers of the Low Countries promoted the well-known topos of Hungary as a bulwark of Christianity in their dynastic representation, using the symbols of the Hungarian monarchy and the saints of the Hungarian dynasty.

One of the goals was to attract young Dutch nobles to join the fight at the border to defend the Kingdom of Hungary against the Ottomans. Military service was also an instrument to bind Dutch nobles from important families to the Habsburg dynasty and to integrate them into the Habsburg Empire. Military service in the Hungarian territories against the Ottomans was also seen by Dutch nobles as a way to prove their loyalty to the Habsburg dynasty and gain further rewards from their ruler.[25] The most striking example of the use of Hungarian topoi in noble representation is the gift to the Netherlands of cannons inscribed with the arms of Hungary. Prince William of Orange had at least six such cannons on display on the bastions of his castle in Breda, the main estate of the Nassau family in the Nether-

[24] *Mary of Hungary: The Queen and Her Court 1521–1531. Exhibition catalogue*, ed. by O. Réthelyi et al. (Budapest 2005); *Maria von Ungarn, eine europäische Persönlichkeit zu Anbruch der Neuzeit*, ed. by M. Fuchs and O. Réthelyi (Münster 2007), A. Bárány, "Queen Mary of Hungary and the Cult of King Louis II in the Low Countries," in *Történetek a mélyföldről: Magyarország és Németalföld kapcsolata a kora újkorban* [Stories from the Low Countries: The relation between Hungary and the Netherlands in the early modern period], ed. by R. Bozzay (Debrecen 2014), 362–397.

[25] See the detailed report in the archives of the German Order of Knights of Utrecht by Willem Sloet and Willem Mullart, members of the German Order of Knights of Utrecht, who were sent to Hungary from April to August 1594. Archief van de Ridderlijke Duitsche Orde, Balije van Utrecht, Utrecht, inv. nr. 141, OA.136.0.2. (Sending of soldiers to Hungary in 1532).

lands.[26] The cannons were presented by Emperor Charles V to Henry of Nassau as a token of gratitude for his support in the war against the Ottomans in Hungary from 1526 to 1532. The cannons were decorated with the arms of the Kingdom of Hungary and of the Nassau family and dated 1530.

Hungary and the Dutch Revolt

The display of cannons became an important *lieu de mémoire* commemorating Dutch support of the Habsburgs against the Ottomans in Hungary.[27] The cannons also appear as a topos in the *Apologie* sent to the Spanish king, a political defence written in the name of Prince William of Orange, leader of the Dutch Revolt, and printed in 1580.[28] The text was composed in French by Prince William in cooperation with the court preacher Loyseleur de Villiers and the Huguenots Hubert Languet and Philippe du

[26] See the detailed inventory of the Castle of Breda, 1597–1603, *Inventarissen van de inboedels in de verblijven van de Oranjes en daarmee gelijk te stellen stukken 1567-1795* [Inventories of the movables in the residences of the Oranges and similar sources 1567–1795], ed. by S. W. A. Drossaers and T. H. Lunsingh Scheurleer ('s-Gravenhage 1974–1976), 87–88. (NB: this inventory was made only after the sacking of the castle by Spanish troops, who took away some of the cannons.) The Hungarian arms were already mentioned in 1568 in a diary: "daer de zelve heeft een schoon casteel, hoewel zom vande voornomde engienen hadden de wapenen vanden Conijnck van Hongherien […] ghelije daerup gheteeekent es." (He [the Prince] has a beautiful castle and some of his [cannons] bear the arms of the king of Hungary.) Cf. *Dagboek van Cornelis en Philip van Campene: behelzende het verhaal der merkwaardigste gebeurtenissen, voorgevallen te Gent sedert het begin der godsdienstberoerten tot den 5en april 1571* [Diary of Cornelis and Philip van Campene, which contains the story of the most remarkable events which happened at Gent from the beginning of the religious troubles until 5 April 1571], ed. by F. de Potter (Gent 1870), 112. Two other cannons were still present in The Hague in around 1792. Cf. G. van Hasselt, *Stukken voor de vaderlandsche histoire, uit de verzameling van Mr. G. van Hasselt* [Pieces for the history of the fatherland, from the collection of Mr. G. van Hasselt] (Amsterdam–Arnhem 1792), 262.

[27] P. Nora, "Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire," *Representations* 26 (1989), 7–25. There also existed a Flemish inn called "The Crown of Hungary." Cf. W. J. F. Nuyens, *Geschiedenis der nederlandsche beroerten in de XVIe eeuw* [History of the Dutch revolts in the 16th century], vol. 2 (Amsterdam 1866), 251.

[28] W. van Orangien, *Apologie ov defense de tresillustre prince Guillaume … contre le ban & edict publié par le roi d'Espagne* (Leyden 1581). A Dutch, French, English and Latin translation was published in the same year. On this work, see K. W. Swart, *William of Orange and the Revolt of the Netherland, 1572–84*, ed. by R. P. Fagel et al. (Aldershot 2003), 186–199.

Plessis-Mornay, after the Spanish king had outlawed William. The main argument was that William of Orange and the Dutch people had always been faithful to the Habsburg rulers, but that the Spanish king must be considered a tyrant.

The cannons were presented as a visible and tangible token of the loyalty of the Nassau family and the Dutch people to the Habsburg dynasty: "One can see in many places in the country artillery bearing the arms of Hungary, which the king of Hungary has given to our ancestors as a witness and memory of their pious deeds, done in the service of this king against the Turks; some of them were taken from our castle in Breda by force by the Duke of Alba who terrorised our country, some of them remaining with him."[29] The cannons were indeed used as Dutch monuments related to Hungary: "We will propagate this fact to the end of time and will always say: as long as these pieces are here they will be signs of the pious deeds of our ancestors and the glorious witness given by the King of Hungary."[30] The theme was referred to most frequently following the publication of the *Apologie* in 1580, being repeated in the famous description of the Dutch Revolt by Emanuel van Meteren[31] and in the well-known history of the Netherlands written by Pieter Corneliszoon Hooft (1643).[32]

As soon as a Hungarian theme appeared in the propaganda literature of the Dutch Revolt, the other side was quick to respond. The Croy family, the second aristocratic family in the Low Countries after the Orange-Nassau dynasty, deliberately used Hungarian symbols to express their loy-

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[29] "Men siet op veel plaetsen hier te lande de stucken geschuts met de wapenen van Hongheryen, die de Coningh van Hongheryen onsen voorouderen gegheven heeft tot een ghetuyghenisse ende memorie van haere vrome feyten die sy aen den dienst der voorsz. Coninghen teghen de Turcken bewesen hadden: van den welcken stucken sommighe uut onsen huyse van Breda sijn geweldelick ontvoert worden by den Hertoghe van Alve, doe hy in desen landen was tyranniserende: ende sommighe sijn daer noch ghebleven." W. van Oranje, *Apologie, ofte Verantwoordinghe* [Apology, or justification] (Santpoort–Antwerp 1923), 26–27.

[30] "D'welck wy tot dien eynde hier voortbrenghen, om daer by te segghen, dat also langhe als dese stucken sullen in wesen sijn, so lange sullen oock duren de teeckenen van de vrome feyten onser voorouderen, ende dat heerlick ghetuygenis dat hen van den Coningh van Hongheryen ghegheven is." Oranje, *Apologie*, 27.

[31] E. van Meteren, *Memorien der Belgische ofte Nederlantsche historie van onsen tijden* [Memoires of the Belgian or Dutch histories of our times] (Delft 1599), f. 178^{v}. (Other editions: 1605, 1608, 1609, 1611, 1614, 1618, 1622, 1623, 1635, etc., and translations in Latin, French and German.)

[32] P. C. Hooft, "Nederlandsche Historien" [Dutch histories], in *Pieter Corneliszoon Hooft, Alle de gedrukte werken*, vols. 4 and 5, *1611–1738*, ed. by W. Hellinga and P. Tuynman (Amsterdam 1972), 730.

alty towards the Habsburg dynasty. (See also the study of Orsolya Réthelyi in this volume.) The Croys stated that the kings of Hungary were their ancestors, as confirmed by Emperor Maximilian in a charter dated 9 April 1486, when Charles I of Croy (1460–1527) was appointed as the prince of Chimay.[33] Philip III of Croy (1526–1595) attempted to launch a counter-party against the rebel nobles in 1566 wearing a medal with an image of the statue of Our Lady of Halle, which was connected to Saint Elisabeth of Hungary.[34] His son, Charles III of Croy (1560–1612), became a Calvinist, the Stadholder of the county of Flanders, and the main opponent of William of Orange. His aim was to return this crucial county in the Netherlands to the Spanish king. In 1584, he divorced from his Calvinist wife, returned to the Catholic Church and signed a treaty with Parma, which resulted in Flanders return under Spanish rule.

After his reconversion to the Catholic faith, Charles III began exploiting Hungarian symbols and themes in his aristocratic self-representation (fig. 6). In 1605, he married his Catholic niece, Dorothea. The event was celebrated with a Jesuit play about Saint Imre of Hungary, son of Stephen, the first king of Hungary, and his relationship to the House of Croy.[35] In the same period, Justus Lipsius (1547–1606), who had also returned to the Catholic Church, dedicated various works to his patron Croy and made references to his Hungarian roots. The first work, in 1604, was a hotly debated and often translated piece about the miraculous statue of the Virgin Mary of Halle, in which he made extensive use of Hungarian topoi.[36] According to Lipsius, the statue had been donated to the church by Sophie, daughter of Saint Elisabeth of Hungary, who was also an ancestor of the Croys. A year later, Lipsius published a history of Leuven as a gift on the

[33] M. Schwartner, *De gente Croviaca Hungariae regum stirpis Arpadianae haereditario…* (Pestini 1791), 47.

[34] J. Pollmann, *Catholic Identity and the Revolt of the Netherlands 1520–1635* (Oxford 2011), 72.

[35] *Tragicomedie De S. Estienne Premier Roy Chrestien De Hongrie, Estoc Paternel De La Tresnoble & ançienne maison de Croy: Dediée a l'Excellentissime Charles Sire & Dvc de Croy & D'Arschot, &c. : Laquelle representeront les estudians du College de la Compagnie de Iesus a Mons en Henault aux nopces de son Excellence le vingtiesme de Decembre l'An 1605* (Mons 1605).

[36] J. Lipsius, *Diva Virgo Hallensis.Beneficia eius & miracula fide atque ordine descripta* (Antwerp 1604). Cf. J. de Landtsheer, "Justus Lipsius's Treatises on the Holy Virgin," in *The Low Countries as a Crossroads of Religious Beliefs*, ed. by A.-J. Gelderblom et al. (Leiden 2004), 65–88. On the Hungarian sources of Lipsius, see A. Vargha, *Justus Lipsius és a magyar szellemi élet* [Justus Lipsius and Hungarian intellectual life] (Budapest 1942).

occasion of Croy's wedding, referring to the marriage as the place "where the sceptres of Hungary come together."[37]

Fig. 6. Saint-King Stephen of Hungary with the armour of Croy

The work of Lipsius became an important element of Habsburg propaganda, emphasising the links between the Virgin Mary, Saint Elisabeth, the Habsburg dynasty and the Low Countries as the wall of defence against heresy from the north.[38] Archdukes Albrecht and Isabella, who ruled the southern Netherlands from 1598, stressed their sovereignty as dukes of Brabant, the forebears of the Habsburgs.[39] Saint Elisabeth was

[37] "O felicem copulem! Coeunt Regum et Principum stemmata: et cum utrimque Hungariae sceptra fulgeant." J. Lipsius, *Lovanium sive opidi et academiae eius descriptio* (Antwerp 1605). For another work in which he referred to the Hungarian roots of Croy, see J. Lipsius, *Monita et exempla politica…* (Antwerp 1605), 99.

[38] M. Stensland, *Habsburg Communication in the Dutch Revolt* (Amsterdam 2012), 143–146.

[39] E. Nagelsmit, *Art and Patronage at the Brussels Beguinage during the Counter Reformation, ca. 1610–1640* (Thesis, Leiden University, 2008), 16–17.

not only the patron saint of the Infanta Isabella, but also her ancestor through her Brabant roots. This relationship between the royal Hungarians, the Habsburg dynasty and the House of Brabant was again elaborated in an illustrated chronicle issued in 1600.[40] Nevertheless, the most impressive use of Hungarian symbols in the aristocratic representation of Croy were two large works published in 1613 under the protection of Charles III, in which the bonds between the Catholic saints of the Árpád dynasty of Hungary and the Croy family were depicted in detailed engravings.[41] These engravings were printed and sold separately and may have decorated walls in Catholic Flemish or Dutch households, alongside similar relics. All these works, issued by the Habsburg and Croy dynasty, were part of a mission to ensure the salvation of the Netherlands.

The Dutch and the Bocskai Revolt

From the start of the revolt, the Dutch elite became increasingly involved in international politics, a fact that can be explained by the characteristics of the conflict. At the outbreak of the revolt, the war was being fought between two unequal powers. The Dutch, as the weaker party, were frantically searching for allies and external support via the skilful use of their diplomatic contacts, communication channels, commercial networks and printing presses. The Calvinist ideology was an important trump card. The Dutch sought support in other countries from people willing and ready to go to the aid of their fellow religionists. The southern Habsburg part of the country did likewise and looked for Catholic allies. The Low Countries gradually developed into a bed of political and religious ferment in Europe and their war exerted an influence on all other conflicts in Europe. The war between Spain and the Dutch rebels thus played a crucial role in po-

[40] H. Barlandi, *Ducum Brabantiae chronica* (Antwerp 1600). Curiously, some of the engravings in this work served as an inspiration for the illustrations of kings and rulers in an unpublished history of Hungary engraved by the Dutch artist Isaac Maior, which were re-used in the famous work *Mausoleum*, issued in 1663. See Gy. Rózsa, *Magyar történetábrázolás a 17. században* [Hungarian historical images in the 17th century] (Budapest 1973), 24–25, 146–147.

[41] A. le Mire, *Sanctorum principum, regum atq. impp. Imagines…* (Antwerp 1613), J. de Bie, *Livre contenant la genealogie et descente de cevx de la Maison de Croy tant de la ligne principale estant chef dv nom et armes d'Icelle qve des branches et ligne collaterale de ladicte maison* (Antwerp 1613).

larising international politics, both within and outside Europe, into two hostile camps.[42]

The revolt in Hungary and Transylvania between 1604 and 1606 was an important moment in the polarisation of Europe and the polemics between the two camps. Rudolf II, the Habsburg emperor and king of Hungary (1572–1608), had placed Transylvania under direct rule in 1601 and had tried to wipe out Protestantism. The campaign was led by Count Giacomo Barbiano di Belgiojoso (1565–1626). After his military actions in the Netherlands, he became imperial commander and chief captain of Upper Hungary in 1603. He and his troops from the southern part of the Low Countries seized the church of Saint Elisabeth in Kassa (Košice) from the Protestants and turned it over to the Catholics. He also dispossessed Protestant nobles on behalf of the Habsburg treasury. The politics of the emperor provoked an uprising against Habsburg rule in 1604, successfully led by the Transylvanian Prince Stephen Bocskai (1557–1606). In fact, Hungarian soldiers fought against troops from the Low Countries on the territory of the Kingdom of Hungary.

The Bocskai Revolt gained much attention in Europe as the first successful anti-Habsburg rebellion in Central Europe.[43] Bocskai requested and received military support from the Ottomans, who were as much the main threat to the German lands as they were an important theme in Habsburg propaganda. With their help, Bocskai occupied Transylvania and large parts of the Hungarian Kingdom and conducted military raids on Austrian and Moravian soil. Bocskai was elected ruler of Hungary and Transylvania in 1605 and requested and received a crown from the Ottoman court.

The Bocskai uprising provoked a propaganda campaign from the Habsburg court in Prague.[44] Several pamphlets were issued about the threat of the Ottomans and Hungarians to Europe, prompted by the Transylvanian

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[42] G. Parker, "The Dutch Revolt and the Polarization of International Politics," in *The General Crisis of the Seventeenth Century*, ed. by G. Parker and L. M. Smith (London 1978), 58.

[43] G. Schramm, "Armed Conflicts in East-Central Europe 1604–1620," in *Crown, Church and Estates: Central European Politics in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, ed. by R. J. W. Evans (London 1991), 176–195; P. László, "Ius Resistendi in Hungary," in *Resistance, Rebellion and Revolution in Hungary and Central Europe: Commemorating 1956*, ed. by L. Péter and M. Rady (London 2008), 65; M. Rady, "Bocskai, Rebellion and Resistance," in ibid., 63.

[44] K. Teszelszky and M. Zászkaliczky, "A Bocskai-felkelés és az európai információhálózatok: Hírek, diplomácia és politikai propaganda, 1604–1606" [The Bocskai Revolt and European information networks: News, diplomacy and political propaganda], *Aetas* 27 (2012), 49–119.

prince and his alliance with the Ottomans. In response, the court of Bocskai launched a propaganda and diplomatic campaign in 1604 to gain support against the Habsburg emperor. Bocskai sent one of his envoys, Johannes Bocatius, to Heidelberg in the winter of 1605 to meet the Protestant German electors. Bocatius (1568–1621) was a judge in Kassa and one of the most important early modern humanists in Hungary.[45]

Bocatius left a significant amount of documentation about this mission, including memoires, letters and poems.[46] According to these documents, the Dutch envoy in the German lands, Pieter Brederode, played an important role in the mission, supporting Bocatius during his negotiations with the Germans. The two also discussed politics, especially the Transylvanian alliance with the Ottomans, which became the main source of the Germans' distrust of the Hungarians. This exchange of information between Bocatius and Brederode turned out to be an important moment in terms of the development of the image of the Hungarians in the Dutch Republic. Brederode wrote in one of his missives that he had received several important documents about the rebellion in Hungary, among which at least one political treatise has been preserved in the State Archives in The Hague.

A key work in the development of the image of the Hungarians is the history of the Dutch revolt written by Emmanuel van Meteren,[47] who was born in Antwerp and was the nephew of the cartographer Abraham Ortelius.[48] After studying theology, he became a merchant like his father and moved to London. In his free time he wrote a voluminous history of the Dutch Revolt, based on his meetings in London with politicians, diplomats and merchants from Holland and other countries.[49] The image of Hungary

[45] I. Bocatius, *Opera quae exstant Omnia*, vol. 1, *Prosaica*, ed. by F. Csonka (Budapest 1992), 111–185.

[46] Österreichisches Staatsarchiv Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchivban, Ungarische Akten. Miscellaneae Fasc. 433. Akten, betreff. den Stadtrichter von Kaschau, Johann Bocatius 1606.

[47] E. van Meteren, *Memorien der Belgische ofte Nederlantsche historie van onsen tijden* (Delft 1599).

[48] L. Brummel, *Twee ballingen's lands tijdens onze opstand tegen Spanje: Hugo Blotius (1534–1608). Emanuel van Meteren (1535–1612)* [Two exiles from the country during our revolt against Spain: Hugo Blotius (1534–1608). Emanuel van Meteren (1535–1612)] (The Hague 1972); W. Verduyn, *Emanuel van Meteren: bijdrage tot de kennis van zijn leven, zijn tijd en het ontstaan van zijn geschiedwerk* [Emanuel van Meteren: Contributions to knowledge about his life, his times and the creation of his historic work] (The Hague 1926).

[49] S. Ruytinck, "Het leven en sterven van den Eerwaerdigen, vromen en Vermaerden Emanuel van Meteren…" [The life and death of the noble and pious

and the Hungarians in his work can therefore also be seen as the result of the information streams in the Protestant *respublica litterarum*.

Van Meteren's patriotic history of the Dutch Revolt was written from the perspective of divine providence.[50] Van Meteren legitimates the Dutch rebellion against Habsburg rule by referring to it as part of the cosmic war between Good and Evil. On the one side stand the Protestant Dutch, a chosen nation supported by Providence; while on the other side are the Catholic Habsburgs and the pope. He divides the peoples and rulers of the world according to their assumed place in the divine plan and their supposed attitude towards the Protestant faith.

The author devotes a great deal of attention to the Bocskai uprising and its Ottoman support in the expanded edition of his work issued in 1608.[51] He describes in detail the important events during the uprising, quotes from the propaganda written by Bocskai, and even mentions the diplomatic mission of Bocatius.[52] It is quite possible that he received this information directly from Brederode or from another Dutch source. Van Meteren saw a common basis for events in the Kingdom of Hungary and the Dutch Republic. In his eyes, the two rebellions were analogous: the Hungarians and the Dutch were guided by providence to oppose the Habsburg powers. He strengthens this providential analogy by pointing to the fact that the Hungarian uprising was also led by a "father of the fatherland," the term also used to refer to William of Orange. The author also devoted much attention to explaining the ideological background of the Hungarian rebellion, which was, in his eyes, similar to that of the Dutch revolt. He drew his information from one of the political treatises of Bocskai. According to van Meteren, the uprising in Hungary and Transylvania was motivated by the tyrannical rule of the king, the infringement of the liberties of the estates, and the Hungarians' lack of religious freedom—just as in the Dutch case.[53]

Van Meteren revived the old myth of Hungarian–Dutch kinship, giving it a new twist. The Saxons, who were living in Hungarian towns like Kassa (the hometown of Bocatius, where the revolt started), were the kinsfolk

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Emanuel van Meteren], in E. van Meteren, *Historien der Nederlanden en haar naburen oorlogen tot het jaar 1612* (Amsterdam 1612), 3ˣ–4ʳ.

[50] Schmidt, *Innocence Abroad*, 337–339.

[51] E. van Meteren, *Commentarien ofte Memorien van-den Nederlandtschen staet, handel, oorloghen ende geschiedenissen van onsen tyden, etc.* [Remarks or memorandums about the Dutch state, trade, wars and histories and events of our times, etc.] (Amsterdam 1608).

[52] Meteren, *Commentarien*, 100ʳ–100ᵛ, 149ʳ.

[53] Ibid., 101ʳ–101ᵛ.

of the Dutch, since the Saxons also lived in the east of the Netherlands. There was nothing exceptional about this idea, as providentialist historiography based on supposed ethnic relations was quite popular among the Dutch at this time.[54] Even Native Americans were described as having Dutch descent due to their resistance to Spanish dominion. The rebels in Hungary and Transylvania were no foreign "others" but were in fact a kindred people of Dutch descent, living under Ottoman rule, and whose struggles in Eastern Europe were for a similar cause as those of the Dutch. The author thus holds up a providentialist mirror to his readers when he describes the successful Hungarian rebellion. The analogy was intended to prove the providential background of both wars against Catholic tyranny in favour of the Protestant faith. The political success of the Hungarian and Transylvanian estates also legitimised the political goals of the Dutch estates.

Nevertheless, there remained one important difference between the two events, as the success of the Hungarian revolt was also due to considerable support from the Ottomans. The Calvinist Prince Bocskai was accepted as a vassal of the Ottoman emperor, and his principality once again became a vassal state under Ottoman rule. This was a very sensitive and much-disputed theme in European Catholic and Protestant circles at that time and was the main source of negative images of Bocskai and the Hungarians in Europe. Van Meteren does not share the negative attitude towards the Ottomans or the Hungarians of Transylvania. According to him, Ottoman rule was to be preferred to Catholic Habsburg tyranny. He described in detail how the Ottomans presented Bocskai with the crown of Hungary, the age-old sign of royal authority in the Hungarian kingdom. According to van Meteren, the Ottomans had found it in Buda following their occupation in 1540. In fact, Bocskai received a Turkish crown jewel; the real crown of the Kingdom of Hungary was kept safely in Prague. The description of the crowning of Bocskai was intended to underscore how the Protestant Prince Bocskai had the same power as any other Christian king in Hungary, only that he received his authority from the Ottoman sultan.

The influence of this book on the image of Hungary and the Hungarians in the Netherlands cannot be underestimated. Van Meteren's work was the most widespread book in early modern Dutch households after the Bible and the moralistic writings of Jacob Cats, and was the most widely used history book in the Netherlands.[55] It therefore must have had considerable influence on how Dutch people perceived their own recent history and

[54] Schmidt, *Innocence Abroad*, 359–360.
[55] Brummel, *Twee ballingen's lands*, 171.

their place in the world. Indeed, it became a source book for other authors and readers on the recent Hungarian history of the time.[56] Van Meteren's comments about Hungary were quoted up until the eighteenth century, most notably in the annals of the Dutch revolt written by Hugo Grotius (1583–1645), official historian of the Dutch Staten-Generaal.[57]

The Thirty Years' War

Following the Thirty Years' War, the two sides in the north and south of the Low Countries paid even greater polemical attention to Hungary, which now appeared as the central battlefield on which the outcome of the conflict between Catholics and Protestants would be decided. One important milestone was the Dutch translation of Hieronymus Ortelius' *History of Hungary* (1619).[58] In the foreword to this work, the translator and theologian Petrus Neander stated that God's plan concerning the Dutch people could be understood by studying the history of Hungary.[59] He also described the book as a "mirror of princes" for the Stadholder Maurice of Orange (1567–1625). The Dutch prince, he argued, should follow the example of the Transylvanian princes Bocskai and Gabriel Bethlen, who defended the faith and freedom of their people against the papist devil. The rule of the Calvinist princes under Ottoman authority was to be preferred to the tyranny of the Habsburg emperor and the pope.

The idea of a close relationship between political events in the Ottoman Empire, Transylvania and the Netherlands was one of the pillars of Dutch–Ottoman diplomatic contacts, which were initiated when Cornelis Haga

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[56] One example is a collection of engravings and manuscripts made in 1613, in which all the items related to Hungary bear a reference to the book of van Meteren. W. Luytsz van Kittensteyn, *Spieghel ofte afbeeldinghe der Nederlandtsche Geschiedenissen* [1613], Collection Atlas van Stolk, Rotterdam, 50442.

[57] H. Grotius, *Annales et historiae de rebus Belgicis* (Amsterdam 1658); id., *Annales et histoires des troubles du Pays-Bas* (Amsterdam 1662); id., *De rebus Belgicis: or, the annals, and history of the Low-Countrey-Warrs* (London 1665), Dutch translation: id., *Nederlandtsche jaerboeken en historien* [Dutch annals and histories] (Amsterdam 1681), 542.

[58] H. Ortelius, *De chronycke. van Hungariē ofte. Warachtige beschryvinghe van alle de vreeslicke oorlogen ende Veltslagen tusschen de Turckē ende christen princen,* [The chronicle of Hungary or the true description of all the terrible wars and battles between the Turks and the Christian princes], trans. by P. Neander (Amsterdam 1619).

[59] Ortelius, *De chronycke*, f. ij.

was appointed as the first Dutch ambassador in Constantinople in 1612.[60] The fate of the Dutch Republic was strongly connected to Ottoman and Habsburg politics in Hungary and Transylvania, as described in the instructions given to Haga.[61] Haga's mission was to keep the hands of the Habsburgs tied in Hungary and Transylvania so that fewer Habsburg soldiers and supplies would remain for a future offensive against the Dutch Republic. Haga successfully gained support for the princes of Transylvania at the Ottoman court in Istanbul, especially for Prince Gabriel Bethlen (1580–1629), who came to power in 1613.

Haga was instructed to send all relevant information about political developments in Eastern Europe to the Staten-Generaal in The Hague. He also actively promoted the spread of this information to the Dutch public. The theologian William Baudartius continued van Meteren's history in 1620, based on political treatises, pamphlets, newspapers and the information provided by Haga.[62] Other authors, such as Nicolaes van Wassenaer, did the same.[63] A closer look at the contents of the missives sent by Haga and the works of Baudartius and van Wassenaer reveals that Haga was in fact transmitting propaganda from the Transylvanian court to the Dutch Republic. Since the political goals of the prince of Transylvania corresponded with his instructions, Haga presented himself in the Netherlands as the advocate and spokesman of Transylvanian interests in Constantinople. As The Hague was the stage on which all European negotiations and actions were played out, as Gustavus Adolphus observed to a Dutch ambassador, the image of Hungary and the Hungarians found its way into Europe.[64]

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[60] *Bronnen tot de geschiedenis van den Levantschen handel*, vol. 1, *1590–1826*, ed. by K. Heeringa (The Hague 1910), 155; A. H. De Groot, *The Ottoman Empire and the Dutch Republic: A History of the Earliest Diplomatic Relations, 1610–1630* (Leiden–Istanbul 1978, rev. ed. Leiden 2012).

[61] *Resolutiën Staten-Generaal Oude en Nieuwe Reeks*, vol. 4, *1576–1625*, ed. by N. Japikse (The Hague 1915), 326.

[62] W. Baudartius, *Memorien, ofte Kort verhael der ghedenckuveerdighste gheschiedenissē van Nederlandt.* [Memorandums, or short story of the noteworthiest histories of the Netherlands] (Arnhem 1620 and Zutphen 1620).

[63] N. Jansz van Wassenaer, *Historisch verhael alder ghedenck-weerdichste geschiedenisse, die hier en daer in Europa, als in Duijtsch-lant, Vranckrijck, Enghelant, Spaengien, Hungarijen, Polen, Sevenberghen, Wallachien, Moldavien, Turckijen en Neder-Lant, … voorgevallen syn* [Historical story of all memorable events, happened here and there in Europe, such as in Germany, France, England, Spain, Hungary, Poland, Transylvania, Wallachia, Moldavia, Turkey and the Netherlands], 21 vols. (Amsterdam 1621–1635).

[64] Quoted in Parker, "The Dutch," 58.

The change of attitude towards Hungary in the Dutch Republic as a result of Dutch–Ottoman diplomatic contacts can also be observed in a number of books. In 1623, van Wassenaer published an extended version of Ortelius's *History of Hungary*.[65] The same volume was also published with a different title page, which read "Turkish Chronicle."[66] What happened in Hungary and Transylvania equally could be sold as Ottoman history. The image of the Ottoman Empire was already merged with that of Hungary and Transylvania, due to the political background of Dutch diplomacy in Constantinople.

This close bond between the Dutch, the Ottomans and the Hungarians is depicted in an allegorical image of the Stadholder Prince Maurice of Orange in his role as the ideal Calvinist ruler.[67] The composition was conceived by Adrianus van Nieuwelandt (1586–1658), engraved by Simon van de Passe (1595–1647) and accompanied by a verse written by the famous Dutch poet Daniel Heinsius (1580–1655).

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[65] N. Jansz van Wassenaer, *Het vyfde Deel tvervolch vande Hongarische Oorlogen, in t'welcke ghetrouwelick verhaelt wert, wat grouwelijcke Velt-slaghen tusschen de Turcken, en Christenen, t'sedert den Jaere 1607 voorghevallen zijn: en voorts watter na de ghetroffen Vreede, in de Naburighe Coninckrijcken/ als Spaengien, Vranckrijck, Enghelandt, Bohemen, Moldavien, Walachien, Duytschlant, Sevenberghen, ende Barbarien, tot den Jaere 1623, voorgevallen is* [The fifth part or the continuation of the Hungarian wars in which it is truly told how terrible battles took place between Turks and Christians, as happened since the year 1607, and what happened after the peace in neighbouring kingdoms like Spain, France, England, Bohemia, Moldavia, Wallachia, Germany, Transylvania and Barbaria, as happened up to the year 1623] (Amsterdam 1623).

[66] N. Jansz van Wassenaer, *Turcksche chronyck. Oft de memorabelste oorloghen, ende ghedenckweerdighste gheschiedenissen, die in de heftighste velt-slaghen ende belegheringhen der Turcken ende Christen koninghen voor-ghevallen zijn. Midtsgaders 'tghene in Hongarien, Moldavien, Walachien, Sevenberghen, Polen, Sweden, Moravien, Bohemen, Oostenrijck, ende in 't Pfaltzgraven lant, tot het teghenwordighe jaer 1623 toe, gheschiedt is* [Turkish chronicle. Or the most memorable wars and memorable events that have happened in the most violent battles and sieges between the Turks and the Christian kings. Also what happened in Hungary, Moldavia, Wallachia, Transylvania, Poland, Sweden, Moravia, Bohemia, and Austria and in the Pfalz up to the year 1623] (Amsterdam 1623). See also I. Schrier, *Boeckvercooper ende Constdrucker: De Delftse boek- en prentuitgever Nicolaes de Clerck (1599–1623) als pleidooi voor de toenadering van Boekhistorie en Kunsthistorie* [Bookseller and art printer: The book and print publisher Nicolaes de Clerck of Delft as a plea for conciliation between book history and art history] (MA thesis, University of Utrecht, 2010).

[67] Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, RP-P-OB-76.980.

Fig. 7. Liberum Belgium

Prince Maurice is portrayed as the defender of the faith and freedom of the Dutch Republic and its allies. He is shown sitting on a covered pedestal in the centre. Personifications of the prosperity of the United Provinces are placed at his feet, while next to him stand personifications of religion and liberty. Native Americans and the aboriginal inhabitants of the Dutch Indies stand next to and behind the figure of liberty on the left. These peoples were liberated from the Spanish yoke by the Dutch, according to

Dutch propaganda of the time.[68] A person wearing a turban stands next to the figure of religion, and a man dressed in Hungarian clothes is placed between religion and the Ottoman. His hand is placed on the shoulder of the Ottoman and he somehow hides behind him. The Hungarian person looks very similar to contemporary Dutch engravings of Prince Gabriel Bethlen, except that the Hungarian figure lacks a beard, which was a characteristic feature of the Transylvanian prince.

The Dutch allegorical composition thus expresses the idea that Prince Maurice is the protector of the Calvinist faith of the Hungarians in Transylvania through the relations between the Dutch and the Ottomans. As this idea reflects Dutch diplomatic policy with respect to the Ottomans, we can regard this as a visualisation of the Dutch–Ottoman–Transylvanian triangle. This image of the Hungarians was propagated for at least the next 50 years: the popular print was reused at least twice—to portray Stadholder Frederick Henry in 1628,[69] and to celebrate the appointment of William III of Orange as Stadholder in 1672.[70]

The vast stream of Dutch information about Hungary from the north was countered by prints inspired by Habsburg propaganda from the southern Netherlands. The Antwerp printer Abraham Verhoeven (1575–1652) published a newsletter almost weekly, often illustrated, about Hungary and Transylvania, written from the Catholic Habsburg point of view. The purpose of these newspapers was not only to promote the Habsburg cause in Central Europe, but also to attract young Flemish and Walloon soldiers to take up arms against the Protestants in the east, as had happened earlier during the Bocskai Revolt (1604–1606). A similar piece of war propaganda was a verse composition about the brave deeds of soldiers from the southern Netherlands against the Protestants.[71]

Conclusion

The distance, exotic character and Christian history of Hungary perfectly suited the purposes and polemics of the Dutch Republic and the Habsburg lands in the southern part of the Low Countries. The Dutch and Flemish were able to create an image of Hungary that matched the rhetorical im-

[68] Schmidt, *Innocence Abroad*, 337–339.
[69] *Liberum Belgium*, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, RP-P-OB-81.349.
[70] *Wilhem Hendrick D.G. Prins van Oranje, Grave van Nassau.* Rijksmuseum, RP-P-OB-77.034.
[71] O. de Wree, *De vermaerde Oorlogh-stucken, vanden wonderdadighen Veltheer*... [The famous war pieces of the miraculous general] (Brugge 1625).

perative of the day: to produce a cultural construction based on a geographical entity that addressed evolving ideological needs.

BUDA'S RECONQUEST (1686) AND THE IMAGE OF HUNGARIANS, OTTOMANS AND HABSBURGS IN SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY DUTCH DRAMA

ORSOLYA RÉTHELYI

The historical context

The Kingdom of Hungary's significant popularity in news reports, political treatises and the literary production of early modern Europe can be attributed—unfortunately for its inhabitants—to its key position as the long-suffering buffer state between the Ottoman Empire and Christian Europe.[1] The fight against the ever-increasing Ottoman threat from the second half of the fifteenth century and the ongoing struggle during the sixteenth and seventeenth century, punctuated by the fall of the medieval Kingdom of Hungary after the Battle of Mohács (1526) and the ensuing conquest of Buda by the Ottomans (1541), won Hungary the title *propugnaculum Christianitatis*, or "bulwark of Christendom," coined and made popular by Italian humanists. Hungary's fame, however, had lost much of its lustre by the time of the Ottoman wars of 1683–1699, which began with the beating back of the third Ottoman Siege of Vienna (1683), the reconquest of Buda by the Holy League (1686), and ended with the Peace of Karlóca (Karlowitz), marking the final expulsion of the Ottomans from the region. After 145 years of being the theatre of war between the Habsburg and Ottoman Empires, the tripartite frontier country whose leaders made pragmatic decisions and shifting alliances with both sides to preserve the state of Hungary—through what they always considered a temporary turmoil—met its disastrous fruit.

[1] For a brief English summary of the historical background, see L. Kontler, "Hungaria eliberata? The expulsion of the Ottomans and the Rákóczi War of Independence," in *Millennium in Central Europe: A History of Hungary* (Budapest 1999), 181–190.

In the spring of 1683 at the outbreak of the Ottoman wars, Pál Esterházy, the palatine of Hungary, called to arms the inhabitants of Hungary against the troops of Grand Vizier Kara Mustafa who was marching against Vienna with the following words: "The time has come for the sweet Hungarian nation to be freed from the Ottoman yoke. Let therefore all take up arms and show his duty to his fatherland."[2] This possibility, however, came too late. By that time the greater part of the Hungarian population would line up on the Ottoman side in support of the "rebellious" party of the Protestant Emmerich Thököly (1657–1705), prince of Upper Hungary, who endeavoured to shake off the Habsburg rule in Hungary through an alliance with the Ottomans. This constellation would radically change during the next two years. The victory of the allied Christian armies at Vienna in 1683, and the unsuccessful attempt to recover Buda in 1684, was followed by the campaign of Charles of Lorraine in the following year, at the end of which Thököly's Upper Hungarian principality and most of the *kuruc* fortresses were in Habsburg hands.[3] Thököly, who had carefully avoided involvement in the attack of Vienna, but nevertheless received the blame for its failure, was arrested by the pasha of Várad (Oradea) in October 1685. Thököly's reputation had already been a topic of intense dispute in Europe, in which the very effective Habsburg propaganda machine succeeded in propagating Thököly's Hungary as "the enemy of Christendom", while Emperor Leopold was now looked upon as the rightful bearer of the title of *propugnaculum Christianitatis*.[4] Thököly's fall resulted in a significant military contribution to the Christian allies in the battle for the liberation of Buda, since his former supporters joined the armies of the Holy League. About 15,000 Hungarian soldiers would take part in the reconquest of Buda and up to 30,000 men in the subsequent operations of the Ottoman wars. By now Hungary's contribution reached a considerable total, especially considering the material sacrifices taken on by the country, that is, the subsidies collected from the population, the supply of the garrison of the fortresses, the donations of the local magnates and the labour force comprised of the locals used for the digging of trenches and erecting of ramparts. Still, Hungary did not take part in the offensive in its own right as a participating state, and the country was

[2] Á. R. Várkonyi, *Magyarország visszafoglalása 1683–1699* [The reconquest of Hungary 1683–1699] (Budapest 1987).

[3] The term "kuruc" is used for the armed anti-Habsburg rebels in Royal Hungary in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

[4] See B. Köpeczi, *Staatsräson und christliche Solidarität: Die ungarischen Aufstände und Europa in der zweiten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Budapest 1983).

therefore freed from the Ottomans by foreign arms. This scenario had been envisioned and feared by Miklós Zrínyi (1620–1664), the military leader, statesman and poet, already in the 1660s, as he unsuccessfully used it as an argument for his demands to set up an independent Hungarian national army.[5]

Fig. 8. Romeyn de Hooghe. The conquest of the mighty town of Buda by the imperial and allied forces

After the Ottomans were expelled from the southern towns of Hungary, the country could begin its slow re-establishment after 145 years of Ottoman occupation. The hopes of the Hungarian estates to redefine the position of the Kingdom of Hungary within the composite state of the Habsburgs by retaining some of the ancient privileges were soon shown to be futile.[6] The estates were subdued by General Antonio Caraffa's ruthless prosecutions as military governor of Upper Hungary. Caraffa established a martial court in Eperjes (Prešov) in March 1687, sentencing 24 wealthy Protestant nobles and burghers to loss of life and property, based on trumped-up charges. At the diet of 1687, the Hungarian estates sub-

[5] Kontler, "Hungaria eliberata?" 182.
[6] For the development of the composite state, see G. Pálffy, *The Kingdom of Hungary and the Habsburg Monarchy in the Sixteenth Century*, trans. by T. J. DeKornfeld and H. D. DeKornfeld (Boulder, CO. 2009).

missively agreed to modify the constitution and recognise the emperor's hereditary right to the Hungarian throne, giving up the right of resistance granted to them in the Golden Bull of 1222. In the meantime the inhabitants of the town of Buda, reduced to ruins and ashes during the siege, would begin rebuilding the historical capital of Hungary.

The conquest of Buda

On 2 September 1686, the troops of the Holy League succeeded in breaking the defence of Buda after 78 days of siege, and captured the town and castle, the most important stronghold of the Ottoman Empire in the region, thereby ending the Ottoman occupation of the former residence of the kings of Hungary.(fig. 8) Though the complete expulsion of the Ottomans from Hungary and Transylvania would still take several years, the conquest of Buda was regarded as symbolic by the contemporary public, as well as by posterity, because it marked a military turning point of the Ottoman wars, which would carry the ultimate defeat of the Ottoman forces in the region. News of the victory spread like wildfire throughout Europe and was followed by exuberant festivities in Vienna, Paris, Milan, Brussels and Madrid in celebration of the triumph of Christianity over Islam. It is a well-known fact that the military events of the Ottoman war efforts of 1683–1687 especially captivated contemporary audiences and produced a stream of news bulletins, pamphlets and books. The liberation of Buda also triggered widespread literary production in the lyric, epic and dramatic genres, featuring songs, fictive letters, gallant novellas, apocryphal memoires, plays and operas written in many languages.[7] A Hungarian repertory from 1936 lists more than 1600

[7] There is no comprehensive study on literary production in reaction to the Ottoman Wars. A large number of these works are listed in B. Köpeczi, *"Magyarország a kereszténység ellensége": A Thököly-felkelés az európai közvéleményben* ["Hungary is the enemy of Christianity": The Thököly revolt in European public opinion] (Budapest 1976); and Ó. B. Kelényi, "A török Buda a keresztény Nyugat közvéleményében" [The Ottoman Buda in the public opinion of the Christian West], *Tanulmányok Budapest Múltjából* (1936), 34–101. See also B. Köpeczi, "Der Rebell und der Galante Ritter. Die Gestalt Imre Thökölys in der europäischen Literatur am Ende des 17. Jahrhunderts", in *Laurus Austriaco-Hungarica. Literarische Gattungen und Politik in der zweiten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts*, ed by B. Köpeczi and A. Tarnai (Budapest 1988), 209–224. For an article on the Polish literature, see L. Hopp, "A felszabadító háborúk tükröződése a lengyel irodalomban. A bécsi diadaltól Buda visszavívásáig, 1683–1686" [The liberation wars mirrored in the Polish literature. From the victory at Vienna to the reconquest of Buda, 1683–1686], *Irodalomtörténeti közlemények* 90 (1986), 275–290.

contemporary written accounts in numerous languages and 260 graphic representations of the events. Since then, numerous previously unknown pamphlets, news accounts, prints and diaries have come to light. The Dutch material is also significant.[8]

The expulsion of the Ottomans by the Holy League was a deed that combined and made use of the achievements of Europe of the age: papal diplomacy, the advantages of international banking, the military genius of the Polish and German leaders, French and Italian military technology, the industry of Venice, Styria and Silesia, the multitude of soldiers of different nationalities and Hungarian human and material sacrifices. However, as the military and administrative leadership of the anti-Ottoman wars after the capture of Buda gradually went over into the hands of the Habsburg government, the immense Habsburg propaganda machine was also set into motion, appropriating and claiming the victory. In the popular illustrated news reports, the victorious Leopold was represented with the full arsenal of the symbols of antiquity and Hungarian history, for instance as emperor and king of Hungary clothed in Roman vestments on a war-chariot drawn by the Ottoman military leaders, or accompanied by the combination of the symbol of the Holy Virgin as *Patrona Hungariae* and the double-headed eagle clutching the olive branch of peace. Latin epic poems were composed celebrating the emperor as conqueror of the Ottomans and the true descendant of Attila and Matthias Corvinus. It was made clear that the victory was due to Leopold rather than the Holy League, the military leaders and soldiers of the actual battles.[9]

The sources

This study instead of attempting to map and analyse the wide range of written reactions to the recapture of Buda in the Netherlands, will focus on the theatrical works written in Dutch, which were inspired by the circumstances of the conquest of Buda and which adapted the news for performance literature. Sources from other genres are used to complement the analysis and give a broader context. Representation of Hungarian histori-

[8] The Knuttel Collection in the Koninklijke Bibliotheek (Dutch Royal Library, The Hague) lists only fourteen pamphlets in Dutch collections on this subject. Early Modern Pamphlets Online –TEMPO, available at: http://tempo.idcpublishers.info/, accessed on 10 June 2014.

[9] Á. R. Várkonyi, "Bécstől Budáig (1683–1686)" [From Vienna to Buda], in *Magyarország története 1526-1686. Magyarország története tíz kötetben*, vol. 2, ed. by Zs. P. Pach et al. (Budapest 1985), 1577–1636, at 1632. Kontler, "Hungaria eliberata?," 183.

cal themes and characters are a feature not uncommon in early modern Dutch drama, but so far have not been studied systematically. Understandably, the events of the war against the Ottomans gave rise to the production of dramas dealing with the military events and the general interest in Ottoman themes.[10] In addition to these, plays on specifically Hungarian historical subjects were also written in the seventeenth century, especially in the southern Netherlands.[11] Examples of such topics range from a play featuring the theme of a Hungarian poet present at the crowning of Emperor Leopold (printed after 1658), to a play, "Bela, prince of Hungary" (1678), dramatizing the bloody fight for the throne in the Árpádian dynasty, to the "Victory of Leopold and the defeat of the Counts Nádasdy, Zrínyi and Frangepán" (c. 1700), unfortunately known only by the title.[12] The relative frequency of these themes in the southern provinces is due to the circumstance of both states being governed by different branches of the Habsburg dynasty in this period, making them part of a shared cultural and informational space. In this light it is perhaps surprising that the three plays investigated here were all printed in the northern Netherlands, though—as will be argued later—one was almost certainly written in the Catholic southern provinces.

The fact that four dramatic adaptations of the reconquest have come down to us not only shows the contemporary interest of the Dutch-speaking public, but also enables inquiry into the issues surrounding the representation of the political situation, the parties involved and the out-

[10] For instance, the plays of the Antwerp jurist and poet Herman Franciscus van den Brandt, *Beleg en ontzet van Weenen* (Antwerp 1684); id., *Hellevaart van den Grooten Vizier* (Amsterdam 1684). K. Porteman and M. B. Smits-Veldt, *Een nieuw vaderland voor de muzen. Geschiedenis van de Nederlandse literatuur 1560-1700* [A new fatherland for the muses. The history of Dutch literature 1560-1700] (Amsterdam 2008), 735–8.

[11] This article is a part of a larger study I am working on investigating Hungarian themes in early modern Dutch drama.

[12] F. Godien, *De krooningh des Keysers uyt-ghebeelt door een bancket toeghericht van den Godt Apollo (...)* [The crowning of the emperor, represented by a banquet prepared by the God Apollo] (Brussels s. d.); H. F. van den Brandt, *Bela, Prins van Hongaryen* [Bela, prince of Hungary] (Amsterdam 1678); S. N., *D'Hongaersche Beroerten, gedempt door den glorieusen Leopoldus, Roomsch Keyser, den eersten van desen naem, oft Onderganck van de graven Nadasti, Sirini en Francipani* [The Hungarian disturbances, put down by the glorious Leopold, roman emperor, the first by this name, or the Fall of the Counts Nádasdy, Zrínyi and Frangipani], cited in J. Notermans, *Schets van de geschiedenis van 't toneel in de Maasgouw voor de Franse Revolutie* [Draft of the history of drama in Maasgouw before the French Revolution] (Elsloo 1961), 47.

come.[13] The news reports and pamphlets on the events have received much scholarly attention in Hungarian historiography, making the recapture of Buda one of the best-researched events in Hungarian history of the early modern period.[14] The genre of historical drama is much less known, perhaps because of the nature of the genre itself, being a step further removed from the events and a derivative of the news reports. The greater authorial freedom allowed by the semi-fictional genre is, however, precisely the reason why plays are an excellent source on how the news was interpreted by different contemporary authors and used for the forming of public opinion. Furthermore, performed drama also reached a different set of audiences and had the potential of being a powerful tool of political propaganda. Three of the four Dutch plays are analysed here from a cultural-historical and literary perspective in order to answer questions about representation and image formation.

None of the three plays have modern editions. Furthermore, since they have a relatively modest literary merit, they are not discussed—in fact hardly mentioned—in Dutch literary histories and studies. After sketching the contents, circumstances of writing and the authors of these plays, two subjects will be addressed.

One of these is the representation of the Hungarians and their history against the background of the opposing forces in the conflict, the Christian and the Ottoman troops. During the years of Ottoman occupation, the Hungarians living on the frontline between the two empires played a complex game of pragmatic allegiances, which was often regarded with suspicion by general European opinion. Are Hungarians portrayed as actors in this international event? How are they framed in relation to the Christian and Ottoman sides of the conflict? Is there mention of historical figures of the Hungarian past? How is the town of Buda represented in the plays?

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[13] Unfortunately, I only discovered the fourth play by the Brussels playwright Daniel Dannoot, which very probably describes the same events after the completion of this article. This play will therefore be analysed in a following article. D. Dannoot, *De Heylighe Roomsche Kercke triompheert ende seghenpraelt door de Waepenen van den onverwinnelycken Monarch LEOPOLDUS I. (…)* [The Holy Roman Church is triumphant, and wins through the weapons of the unconquerable monarch Leopold I] (Brussels 1697).

[14] To mention a few of the most important works: F. Szakály, *Buda visszafoglalásának emlékezete, 1686* [The memory of the reconquest of Buda, 1686] (Budapest 1986); J. Barta Jr., *Budavár visszavétele* [The reconquest of Buda] (Budapest 1985); Várkonyi, *Magyarország visszafoglalása*; F. Szakály, *Hungaria eliberata: Budavár visszavétele és Magyarország felszabadítása a török uralom alól 1683–1718* [Hungaria eliberata. The reconquest of Buda and the liberation of Hungary from Ottoman occupation 1683–1718] (Budapest 1986).

Does its past function as the capital and royal residence of the historical Kingdom of Hungary play any role?

The other set of subjects relates to the image of the Habsburgs represented in the plays. The bitter fight of the northern Dutch provinces against the Spanish Habsburgs, which ended with the recognition of the Dutch Republic in the Peace Treaty of Münster in 1648, was not yet forgotten. The Habsburg persecution of Protestants in Hungary during the 1670s was well known in Europe, and the rescuing of the Hungarian Reformed and Lutheran ministers from slavery by Admiral Michiel de Ruyter in 1675–76 became an issue that caused international outrage and resulted in friction between the Republic and the Habsburgs.[15] Nevertheless the early 1670s also brought about a shift in the foreign policy of the Republic in which the Habsburgs were increasingly seen as allies against the common enemy, King Louis XIV of France. In 1673 the signing of the Quadruple Alliance made Emperor Leopold I an ally of William III Stadholder of the Dutch Republic.[16] The political and religious differences between the provinces of the Republic and the Catholic southern provinces under Habsburg rule give a further complexity to the historical context of the plays. There are reasons to believe that one of the three plays was written in the Catholic southern provinces. Questions are raised about the role of the Habsburg Empire and that of religion in the plays. Is there a discernible difference in attitude in the plays written in the Dutch Republic versus the southern Dutch provinces, which were part of the Habsburg Empire? And is there a difference in the confessional background of the plays?

Govert Bidloo's Het zegepraalende Oostenryk, of verovering van Offen (1686)

Of all the plays, we have the most contextual information available about the earliest among them, by Govert (Govard) Bidloo (1649–1713). The author, together with his brother Lambert Bidloo, played an important role in the struggle against the French domination of the artistic and literary style of the period. Govert Bidloo studied medicine and became a professor of anatomy and surgery in Leiden, acting as court physician to William of Orange III from 1694. In 1696 Bidloo was elected member of the Royal

[15] G. Murdock, "Responses to Habsburg Persecution of Protestants in Seventeenth-Century Hungary," *Austrian History Yearbook* 40 (2009), 37–52.

[16] W. Troost, "Ireland's Role in the Foreign policy of Willem III," in *Redefining William III*: *The Impact of the King-stadholder in International Context*, ed. by E. Mijers and D. Onnekink (Burlington, VT 2007), 58–60.

Society.[17] His literary works date mainly from the period prior to 1696. From 1681 he was member of the board of the New Theatre of Amsterdam (Amsterdamse Schouwburg, 1665–1772).[18] In the Dutch Republic the literary taste of the period was dominated by the artistic group *Nil Volentibus Arduum* (Nothing impossible for the willing), which followed the strict rules of French classicism. The majority of the dramas of the period also reflect these tastes. Strict rules regulating the plot, the staging and the moral dictated that only events which could occur in real life be staged. Bidloo went against the classicist rules and propagated a theatre with emphasis on the spectacle. Music and dance played an important role in his productions and he made maximal use of the technical possibilities provided by the new and very modern theatre machinery of the Amsterdam Theatre, newly renovated in 1665. It is typical of Bidloo that he brought about the first Dutch-composed opera production of Dutch musical history in November 1686. He was the author of the libretto of *Opera op de zinspreuk "Zonder spys en wyn kan geen liefde zyn"* (Opera on the proverb "There is no love without food and wine"), the music for which was composed by the talented Johan Schenck (1660–1712).[19]

In the same year but two months prior, his play on the recapture of Buda was performed for the public in the Amsterdam Theatre. The play was given the title *Het zegepraalende Oostenryk, of verovering van Offen* (The victorious Austria, or the recapture of Buda).[20] The premiere can be dated to 23 September 1686, exactly three weeks after the victory of the Holy League. One can imagine the speed with which the author and the unknown composer had to work to produce a play that was written, set to music and staged in such a short time. It is very likely that the play was part of the official festivities, but evidence of such details still has to be found. Besides the written sources, engravings and prints also give an account of these celebrations.

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[17] R. Knoeff, "Govert Bidloo (1649-1731). Onbemind maakt Onbekend" [Unloved means unknown], in *De kaper, de kardinaal en andere markante Nederlanders*, ed. by J. Touber and M. Brouwer (Rotterdam 2010), 85–94.

[18] *Nieuw Nederlandsch biografisch woordenboek*, [New Dutch biographic dictionary] vol. 8, ed. by P. C. Molhuysen and P. J. Blok, (Leiden 1930), 104–8. On his literary work, see J. te Winkel, *De ontwikkelingsgang der Nederlandsche letterkunde*, vol. 4 [The development of the Netherlandish literature] (Haarlem 1924), 482–8, 491.

[19] R. Rasch, "De moeizame introductie van de opera in de republiek" [The difficult introduction of opera in the Dutch Republic], in *Een muziekgeschiedenis der Nederlanden*, ed. by L. Grijp (Amsterdam 2001), 311–16.

[20] G. Bidloo, *Het zegepraalende Oostenryk, of Verovering van Offen* (Amsterdam 1686).

The text of the play and staging directions reveal much about how it was produced, being especially rich in information on Bidloo's theatrical style. It can be characterised as a typical baroque allegorical play with music and dance, as the description on the title page promises the staging of the events "with *tableaux vivants*, technical spectacles, songs of triumph and dance."[21] The predominantly allegorical roles impersonate abstract concepts, nations, institutions and geographic forms. The stage directions give a precise description of what they should wear and carry, in accordance with the Baroque iconographic tradition of the age.

In accordance with the conventions of the genre, the play was made up of four "living pictures" or *tableaux vivants* (Dutch: *vertoning*). Allegorical plays with *tableaux vivants* had a long history in the Netherlands, where from the late medieval period on, both religious and secular celebrations, processions, royal entries and the performances of the Chambers of Rhetoric made extensive use of it.[22] Bidloo was a master of this dramatic form. He had previously adapted several plays of Joost van den Vondel (1587–1679), the greatest Dutch playwright of the seventeenth century, to include *tableaux vivants*, inserting routines of spectacle and dance.[23] In *Het zegepraalende Oostenryk*, the public is meant to contemplate the four *tableaux*, the interpretation of which is aided by the explanations and interpretations given by the speaking roles and the emotive emphasis given by the performance of the singers and dancers. In all four *tableaux*, the town of Buda stands in focus, but the setting surrounding the town is different in each one. The author gives a description of the scene on stage as a director's instruction, making it possible for the modern reader to reconstruct the visual effects to a large extent.

The speaking characters of the first tableau—Turkey, the Christian Church, Austria and the Suffering Church—summarise the recent military events, the losses encountered by the Ottoman Empire and the alliance of

[21] Ibid., 1.

[22] A. de Haas, "18 juni 1660: Prinses Mary en haar zoon Willem wonen in de Amsterdamse Schouwburg een voorstelling bij van het spel *Beleg en ontset der stadt Leyden*" [Princess Mary and her son William attend a performance of the play *Beleg en ontset der stadt Leyden* in the Amsterdam Theatre], in *Een theatergeschiedenis der Nederlanden. Tien eeuwen drama en theater in Nederland en Vlaanderen*, ed. by R. L. Erenstein (Amsterdam 1996), 250–7.

[23] R. Rasch, "19 februari 1685. Onder regie van Govert Bidloo wordt Vondels *Faëton* opgevoerd als muziekdramatische show" [19 februari 1685. Vondel's *Faëton* is performed as a musical dramatic show under the direction of Govert Bidloo], in *Een theatergeschiedenis*, 272–7. L. P. Grijp and J. Bloemendal, "Vondel's Theatre and Music," in *Vondel, Dutch Playwright in the Golden Age*, ed. by J. Bloemendal and F.-W. Korsten (Leiden 2011), 140–56, at 153.

the seven states fighting against the Ottomans; introduce the commanders Charles V, duke of Lorraine, and Maximilian II Emanuel, elector of Bavaria (*Beiervorst*); and praise concord, which will redeem the Suffering Church. Hungary is mentioned a number of times, but predominantly as a geographical location. The Christian Church introduces Buda as the town founded by the brother of Attila, "cruel scourge of the world," and as "The ancient capital of the Hungarian realm, / On which Süleyman sultan a hundred and forty years ago / first hoisted his banner of victory."[24] The scene is closed with the song of the Suffering Church.

The second tableau again shows Buda, described in the following manner in the director's instructions:

> The town of Buda surrounded by the Christian troops under the command of Austria and their tents. On the southern side the Turk abuses, leads the Christians in chains, etc., on the northern side the same thing happens to the other party, in the centre we see the battle, the counting of heads, the selling of slaves. On the southern side downstage, the Turk drags Count Thököly [*Graaf Tekely*] mocking the prisoner, in their hands they hold the flag of victory.[25]

At the same time, the glorious conquest of the fortresses of Coron and Methoni (Modon) by the Republic of Venice is visible on the northern side. The two scenes are interpreted by the allegorical figures of Valour and the Adriatic Sea, respectively. Valour first comments on the Siege of Buda and then draws the morale of the story of Emmerich Thököly in the following lines:

> The Count Thököly, leader of the rebellious Hungarians / and traitor of the might of both emperors / is taken in chains to the Turkish court as a punishment, / to be a subject of the scorn and contempt of sipahi and janissary. / The case attests that we must freely subject ourselves to the lawful ruler, / because treason and sedition is always unsuccessful in the end.[26]

The second *tableau* ends with the song of the allegorical figures of Desecration and Murder.

The final dance of the Furies introduces the third *tableau* showing the horrors of war, interpreted by Mourning and Violence. Positioned in the centre of the fourth *tableau* is Emperor Leopold, sitting on a ceremonial throne decorated with laurel leaves and the epigraph *Leopoldo Victori*. Be-

[24] Bidloo, *Het zegepraalende Oostenryk*, 10.
[25] Ibid., 13.
[26] Ibid., 13.

fore his feet lies the conquered town of Buda. The figure of Fame introduces the chiefs of the military staff standing beside the throne by name and proceeds to appraising the merits of the emperor in conquering Buda.[27] The figure of Truth takes the word over from Fame and jubilantly declares the triumph of the truth: "I will gladly rebuild my glory through the ruins of Buda, / and in the Turkish temples filled with witless idolatry / let my sun radiate instead of the crescent moon: / The true Word thus thrusts their Koran away!" Then she continues her monologue, however, in a slightly different tone:

> I want to greet the heroes with my palm branches, / who fought for my honour, / The Emperor in his court. / To beg at his feet for free practice of religion. / Thus is the restraint of conscience [*gewetensdwang*] determined, / While [or, because] Leopold is victorious.[28]

The awkward translation reflects the ambiguity of the original text, but despite the obscurity of the original verses, it is clear that in these lines Truth entreats the emperor for freedom of religious practice and faith. This should probably be read as a critique of the hard-handed counter-Reformation policy practiced by Leopold in Hungary, which had received attention in the Netherlands in the period, for instance in the case of Michiel de Ruyter.[29]

Het zegepraalende Oostenryk is not a historical play in the Aristotelian sense, but rather a festive allegorical performance that commemorates the

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[27] Ibid., 19.
[28] Ibid., 21.
[29] Murdock, "Responses," 41. A Dutch poem written in the same year by Thomas Arents (or Arends) (Amsterdam, 1652–1701) makes the same point but in a much more explicit manner. He celebrates the heroes of Christianity for their victory in Buda against the Ottomans, but uses the occasion to call for religious freedom and solidarity with those who are persecuted for their faith. While narrating the heroic deeds of the victors and mourning for the dead, the poet hears a dissonant voice of his "brothers in faith" (*uw geloofsgenoten*) begging recognition for their suffering, now that "they are again in the claws of the Jesuit Monster beast" ("Nu gy ons in de klauwen ziet / Van hen, de bron van ons verdriet? Van Jezuwietische Monsterdieren") with their "dungeons, gallows, wheels." It is not explicitly stated who the brothers in faith are, but they can be understood to refer to the Protestants of Hungary. Th. Arents, *Op het veroveren van Offen door de keyzerlyke en vereenigde wapenen, onder het beleid des doorluchtigen hertoogs van Lotheringen* [On the conquest of Buda by the imperial and united military forces, under the leadership of the illustrious Duke of Lorraine] (S. L. 1689), 8°, 4 p. (orig. pub. in 1686: see *Inventarium de operibus litterariiis ad res Hungaricas pertinentibus ab initiis usque ad annum 1700*, ed. by P. Kulcsár).

conquest of Buda in an adaptation with music and dance. The presentation of the Buda is ambivalent, Hungarian issues are largely absent, or have a negative connotation. The opposing forces are on the one hand the Ottoman Empire, and on the other the allied troops representing the emperor, also the king of Hungary, who have succeeded in reigning over their rightful inheritance ("The Austrian blade with lawless fury, / Repays for the injury of the destruction of her lands / And thus seizes her property from the hands of the arch enemy.").[30] There is not much of a place for Hungarians, or any kind of independent Hungarian state in this equation. Buda is represented as the historic capital of Hungary, but it also symbolises the strength of the Ottomans. Therefore the victory involves defeating and humiliating it under the feet of Emperor Leopold. The staging of Thököly as the "leader of the rebellious Hungarians," who is humiliated on stage and thereby receives his just punishment, reinforces the negative picture. The traitor count serves as an admonition; his just reward is contempt from both empires. The play exalts the emperor for the victory, but also articulates a critical note in the process, when it calls for greater religious freedom for his subjects.

Jan Palensteyn's Buda anders Offen. Treurspel (1686)

Much less is known about the author and the circumstances of the chronologically second play, Jan Palensteyn's *Buda anders Offen. Treurspel* (Buda, otherwise Offen. A tragedy, 1686).[31] The author was born into a family of printers in Enkhuizen. This is his first literary effort—as the author himself writes in the introduction to the play—and no other work in print is known from him. The play was printed in his own printing shop (Jan Palensteyn and Jan Schink) in octavo format in the last four months of 1686. Palensteyn recommends his play to the mayor of Enkhuizen, Joan Haga, and the town magistrate.[32] After giving a short summary of the recent battles between the Christian and the Ottoman troops, he explains that he has written it for his own satisfaction and on account of the victory at Buda. He recommends his play to the mayor: "begging and beseeching him to accept this simple little work from an inexperienced pupil, encouraging hereby my future pursuit in the art in order to hopefully produce

[30] Bidloo, *Het zegepraalende Oostenryk*, 17.
[31] J. Palensteyn, *Buda anders Offen. Treurspel* (Enkhuizen 1686). kl. 8°.
[32] Johan Haga (22 April 1653, Enschede–19 December 1714, Enkhuizen) was elected mayor nine times in the years 1686–1714. Cf. T. Postma, *Enkhuizer patriciers* [Patricians of Enkhuizen] (11 April 2014), Available at http://www.thijspostma.nl/Patriciers.pdf, accessed on 10 June 2014.

something better on the next occasion."[33] His dedication is followed by a poem full of classical allusions as introduced by a certain C. Pijl, otherwise not identified. It is improbable that the play was ever performed, there being no record of this.[34] Palensteyn probably wanted to gain patronage from the magistrate for his literary endeavours through the play.

The play is labelled in the title as a tragedy (*treurspel*) and is written in five acts observing the rules of the three unities of classical drama.[35] Palensteyn makes an effort to solve the contradiction between the joyful event of the victory that gave rise to the play and the genre of tragedy in describing the play as a "tragedy for the Ottomans and a happily ending play for the Christians." In this period the term "tragedy" mainly indicated that the play was written according to the rules of classical drama, nevertheless this choice resulted in narrating the historical events basically from an Ottoman perspective. Since the play is a tragedy, the high pasha (*Opper-Bassa*)—referring to the military commander of Buda Abdurrahman Abdi Pasha (1616–1686)—should be considered the protagonist, whose tragic fall is due to his own pomposity and unwise decisions.[36] The events from the dawn of the second of September up to the dawn of the next day are depicted from inside Buda, from the perspective of the Ottomans defending the town. In addition to the high pasha, the Ottoman side is represented by the aga (commander) of the janissaries, the second pasha (*Tweede Bassa*), his wife, Zareyde, and her serving woman, Sophia, and the choruses of Turkish and Jewish women.[37] The author is well informed

[33] Palensteyn, *Buda anders Offen* (unnumbered fourth page of the front matter).

[34] S. B. J. Zilverberg, "Jan Palensteyn, zeventiende-eeuws toneelschrijver" [Jan Palensteyn, playwright of the seventeenth century], *Steevast* 3 (1981), 34–8.

[35] J. A. Worp, *Geschiedenis van het drama en van het tooneel in Nederland* [History of drama and theatre in the Netherlands], vol. 1, (Groningen 1903), 308.

[36] The courage of Abdurrahman Pasha was universally acknowledged and praised. In some news reports, the letters exchanged between Charles of Lorraine, demanding surrender, and the pasha, refusing this, was also included. Cf. S. N., *Daghregister vande [...] belegheringhe der vermaerde ende coninckl[ijcke fortresse Buda* [Day-to-day account of the siege of the renowned royal castle of Buda] (Ghent 1686). The memorial of Abdurrahman Pasha, who heroically defended Buda up to his last breath, can still be seen in the Buda castle in Budapest.

[37] The chorus of Jewish women probably receives a role in Palensteyn's play as reference to the tragic fate of the Jewish population of Buda, who—along with other civilians of different ethnic groups, including women—were forced to defend the town together with the soldiers. News of the Jewish population fighting along with the Ottomans caused pogroms in several towns, e.g. Padua. The Hebrew diary or notes of the rabbi Isak Schulhof, one of the Jewish survivors of the siege, is a valuable source on Buda in the Ottoman period and the events of the siege. D.

about the military events as well as the details of Turkish life. He certainly had access to sources of historical information, pamphlets, news reports on the events, names of the actors and places, and used these extensively to give a realistic portrayal of the happenings. Three characters play important roles on the Christian side: Charles of Lorraine, Maximilian II Emanuel (*Keur-Vorst van Beyeren*) and Johann Adam von Schöning (*Schooning*), field marshal of Brandenburg-Prussia.

The Ottoman perspective is reinforced by the emphatic role played by Zareyde, wife of the second pasha, who has a prophetic dream forecasting the defeat and therefore begs her husband to give up the castle. Further in the play, the choruses of Turkish and Jewish women give voice to their fear of retaliation and violence from the besieging troops in songs describing the horrors that await them, addressing these songs to Zareyde in hope that she can intercede with the commanders of the defence. The events confirm their fears because after the battle Charles of Lorraine gives orders that the women should be fair game, the soldiers can do with them as they please, and chooses the beautiful Zareyde for himself. He is eventually dissuaded by the pleading of the Turkish and Jewish women and finally even agrees to take them into his protection. Since the Ottomans and especially Zareyde are portrayed as very respectable, deeply religious and vulnerable to the atrocities of war, the original plans of the victorious commander cast a certain shadow on his morals. This could be read as an effort to taint the military leadership of the Holy League during the campaign and thereby emphasise the Habsburg claim, but it is also possible that the moral shadow is accidental and due merely to the author's lack of literary experience.

There are no references to Hungarian soldiers or to Hungary as a geographical entity in *Buda anders Offen*. The author does briefly refer to two important figures of Hungarian history but without placing them in the Hungarian context. The castle of Emmerich Thököly is mentioned by the high pasha when he brings arguments against the pleas of the Turkish and Jewish women begging him to surrender Buda to the besieging army. The high pasha tells the women that Buda is a stronghold of key importance, which if lost, the enemy—the Christians—will burn huts and houses, will capture the towns of Hatvan and Osijek, and "Griekse Weyssenburg [Belgrade] with its high cliffs / And even the strong castle of Emmerich Thököly, / will fall to him for certain by our defeat."[38]

Kaufmann, *Die Erstürmung Ofens und ihre Vorgeschichte nach dem Berichte Isak Schulhofs (1650–1732) (Megillath Ofen)* (Trier 1895).

[38] Palensteyn, *Buda anders Offen*, 31.

A more interesting aspect is the discussion in the last scene of the fifth act concerning the urgent issues and plans of the three Christian commanders figured in the play, Charles of Lorraine, Maximilian II Emanuel and Johann Adam von Schöning. The elector of Bavaria suggests that while the Turkish and Jewish civilians are burying the dead and cleaning up the ruins, the troops should immediately proceed and free the castles still under Ottoman rule. Schöning agrees and assures the others that nobody will be able to resist the army along the rivers Drava and Sava, and even Osijek and Szigetvár will bow to them. The mention of the latter fortification gives the field marshal the occasion to continue his speech by drawing a parallel between Charles V, Maximilian II Emanuel—the two commanders victorious at Buda—and Miklós Zrínyi (*Serini*) (c. 1508–1566), the heroic defender of Szigetvár:

> The dauntless Zrínyi, who led a charge out of the castle, / and cracked down on the skulls with his sharpened steel, / So that even the commander of the Ottoman soldiers, / Gave up his dear life through despair and worry. / The courageous Zrínyi, when the end was near, / Killed in the last hour of his life / Forty Ottomans with his own hands, / and sent them to the underworld with his sword. / Until a Turkish soldier cut the head of the brave Count / With a cursed blow from his body. / Which was sent directly to the court of the Ottomans, / Who sent it on with honour and glory to Vienna. / What did they do straightaway to honour this hero, / who had beaten the enemy out of the field twice over? / The Emperor had a fine tomb be carved directly, / So that all who live after him, should / Commemorate this hero, who crushed the Turkish power / and the Ottoman rabble twice over. / In this manner one will hear it often said after our death, / That the might of Leopold defeated Buda / Through Charles of Lorraine and you, o Bavarian elector.[39]

The figure of the hero of Szigetvár was familiar to the Dutch audience from political treatises and news stories, but was also written about in the register of literary production.[40] The same year saw the publication of *Lykklagt over den doorluchtigen helt Nikolaas Serini* (Elegy on the illustrious hero Miklós Zrínyi), written by Johannes Vollenhove (1631–1708), on the death of the great-grandson of the hero of Szigetvár, the military leader and poet Miklós Zrínyi (1620–1664). The poem does not mention Zrínyi the elder, a lengthy footnote summarises the deeds of the great-grandfather.[41] It is noteworthy, however, that Zrínyi the elder only appears

[39] Ibid., 61–62.
[40] On the European fame of Zrínyi, see Á. R. Várkonyi, "Európa Zrínyije" [Europe's Zrínyi], *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények* 100, 1–2 (1996), 1–39.
[41] J. Vollenhove, *Poëzy* (Amsterdam 1686), 255–60, at 257.

here in Habsburg context, for the service done for the emperor, similarly to what we have seen in the play. Vollenhove refers to the source of Zrínyi's charge out of the castle in Croatian sources. It is striking how the figure of this Miklós Zrínyi, who was a Croatian and Hungarian magnate, and a member of the international aristocracy of the Habsburg Empire, seems to lack a Hungarian identity.[42]

In Palensteyn's play, the scene in which the three military leaders praise each other's deeds is interrupted by the appearance of an angel. Addressing Charles of Lorraine, the divine messenger praises the conquest and prophesies the triumph of the Eagle, strengthened with the might of the whole of Christianity spreading its wings above the scene, and the collapse of the Turkish crescent moon in blood and tears.[43] Ending the play are the words of Charles, encouraging the others with the prophecy of the angel to proceed with the campaign and continue expelling the enemy from the land. He defines complete victory and the reign of the emperor as a final goal:

> It seems to me that I can see the Hungarian crown secured / on the shield of Leopold. Let us therefore without tarrying go / and send the Ottoman vermin down the Styx, / and drive the whole Turkish brood out of the land. / In this manner this whole domain will belong to the Emperor's crown, / thanks to the Highest Lord, the Father above us, / we will eternally praise Your name for this.[44]

"Een Liefhebber der Rym-konst"—De verovering der koninghlyke stad Buda (1687)

Though attributed to Joost van der Meulen, the author of the third play, entitled *De verovering der koninghlyke stad Buda* (The conquest of the royal

[42] The title of Vollenhove's elegy, in which he lists the titles of the military leader and poet: "Nikolaas Serini, Graaf van Serini, Onderkoning van Dalmatie en Kroatie, en Slavonie, Ridder van 't Gouden Vlies, Kamerheer en Geheimraat van zyne Keizerlyke Majesteit, enz," in Vollenhove, *Poëzy*, 255.

[43] Palensteyn, *Buda anders Offen*, 64. The author, whom this play shows to be one of the many Vondel epigones, leans heavily on the famous Dutch playwright. This scene is probably also a reference to Vondel's most popular play, the tragedy *Gysbreght van Aemstel* (1637), in which an angel appears before the siege of Amsterdam and makes a prophecy. This is supported by the fact that the melody indicated in Palensteyn's play for the song of the angel is the song *O Kersnacht, schooner dan de dagen*, the most widely known, and beloved song of Vondel's *Gysbreght van Aemstel*.

[44] Palensteyn, *Buda anders Offen*, 65.

town of Buda), only refers to himself as "a devotee of the art of poetry."[45] The booklet was printed by Jan Tenhoorn in Amsterdam in 1687. Nothing is known of the author. It is possible that he is the same Joost van der Meulen, a certain printer from Bruges (Brugge).[46] I have not been able to trace any information regarding performances of the play. The victory over the Ottomans was celebrated by festivities, including theatrical performances in Brussels and in Antwerp. It is therefore conceivable that the play was written for such a feast and only published later. It is notable that the Amsterdam-based printer of this play had a history of publishing books on the Ottoman wars and the pertinent Central European figures. Attesting to this interest is the printer's publication of a Dutch-language biography of John Sobieski in 1685, which included a chapter on "Thököly and the Hungarian malcontents," as well as a 1687 Dutch translation of the famous "nouvelle historique", *Les amours du comte Tekely*, by Jean de Préchac.[47] The religious references in the play support the assumption that it was written in the southern Catholic provinces, but further research will have to clarify the details.

In the preface to *De verovering der koninghlyke stad Buda*, the author writes about the rules of classical drama in regard to the genre of tragedy and expresses his dissatisfaction with the present neglect of these rules in much Dutch writing, highlighting Seneca, Corneille, Racine and Joost van

[45] "Een Liefhebber der Rym -konst" [a devotee of the art of poetry] (Joost van der Meulen), *De verovering der koninghlyke stad Buda,* (Amsterdam 1687), kl. 8°. The author is identified by A. J. van der Aa, *Biographisch woordenboek der Nederlanden* [Biographical encyclopaedia of the Netherlands], vol. 12, pt. 2, ed. by J. J. van Brederode (Haarlem 1869), 734, though it is not clear on what grounds he does so. See also Worp, *Geschiedenis van het drama*, 308.

[46] We know of several plays that were printed by Joost van der Meulen in Bruges, e.g. J. Lambrechts, *Bethlehem,* [Bethlehem] (Bruges 1685). Cf. A. Van den Abeele, "Hoogtepunten van de Brugse Boekdrukkunst" [Highpoints of book printing in Bruges], *Tijdschrift Vlaanderen* 252 (1994), 143–148. The pseudonym possibly points in a different direction as it resembles the name of the literary group called "Vrije liefhebbers der rijmerkonste," which also makes it possible that the author was Willem Vander Borcht. Cf. J. de Grieck, "Zuid-Nederlandsche rederijkerij in de XVIIe eeuw en de beteekenis van de Brusselsche 'Vrije liefhebbers der rijmerkonste'" [The rhetoricians of the seventeenth century and the significance of the "Free devotees of the art of rhyme" of Brussels], in *Drie Brusselsche kluchten uit de zeventiende eeuw*, ed. by P. de Keyser (Antwerp 1925), 15–35.

[47] [J. de Préchac], *Oorlogsdaaden en minneryen van den graaf Emerik Tekely* [War deeds and love affairs of the Count Thököly] (Amsterdam 1687). See a discussion of this French novella in Köpeczi, *Staatsräson und christliche Solidarität*, 215.

den Vondel as examples for the art. He goes on to write that despite the frequent requests from his friends to write a play on the conquest of Buda, he only overcame his apprehensions about these strict literary rules once he understood Seneca's *Troades* and took it as an example for his own work. The play is written in five acts and is much more dynamic than Palensteyn's play, including scenes of on-stage fighting and passion. This play also features the Ottoman defenders of Buda and the attacking Christians as opposing forces. Those with roles on the Ottoman side, besides Abdi Pasha, is Arminde, his daughter, Enurchi, the under-pasha, Toxali, the aga of the janissaries, Sarkich, the eunuch servant of Arminde, the janissaries and the servants. The Ottomans in this play are given the most lines, unquestionably putting them in the focus of the events, with Abdi Pasha as the tragic protagonist. The events of the last day of the siege are entwined with a subplot dealing with Toxali's secret passion for the heroic Arminde, who herself takes up arms in order to defend her father. The Ottoman characters are characterized as valiant, respectable and loyal. The dramatic tension arises on the one hand from the delay of the relief troops led by the grand vizier and the tragic consequences of their failure to arrive. Other sources of dramatic tension are the Ottoman characters' expression of inner conflict resulting from conflicting emotions of loyalty versus love. A good example of this is the pasha, who must decide whether to give up the town and thereby save his beloved daughter or fight until death as his honour commands him.

Besides characters of flesh and blood, a supernatural manifestation also plays an important role in the play, giving historical context and temporal depth to the events, which—according to the classical rules of drama—take place within 24 hours. In the first act the ghost of Sultan Süleyman, who had captured Buda in 1526, appears to Abdi Pasha in a dream. The ghost of Süleyman encourages the military commander, who is waiting in vain for the relief troops, and praises the strength of the fortress of Buda in a lengthy monologue, appealing to the honour of Abdi Pasha:

> The town which Selim and Amurath longed for, / the pearl of their crown, the pillar of the Turkish power, / the town, the winning of which made the sceptre of the Hungarians / fall into my hands; which for forty-five years / and a hundred, despite the power of the Christian Empire, / has retained—unwilted—her virginal bloom. / How! Would you, fearful of Austrian blows / let her crown's leaves be creased by Christian hands? / Would you be the first, who lets the light of the crescent moon / decline in the Kingdom of Hungary?

On the Christian side we find Charles of Lorraine and Maximilian II Emanuel (*Keurvorst van Beyeren*)—as can be expected—accompanied in this play by a certain "Prins Croy", introduced in the list of roles as "one of the leaders of the attack [fighting] under Prince Charles."[48] We know from historical accounts that Charles Eugène de Croy (1651–1702) was *Feldzeugmeister* (Lieutenant general) and *General der Artillerie*, as the deputy of Field Marshal Graf Count Ernst Rüdiger von Starhemberg, in the corps of Charles of Lorraine, and was promoted to imperial field marshal and major military command in Hungary in 1692.[49]

The Croy family, originally from Picardy and claiming descent from the Hungarian Árpád dynasty, rose to prominence under the Dukes of Burgundy in the fourteenth century and continued playing a crucial role in the political life of the Netherlands in the sixteenth and seventeenth century under the Habsburgs. The family split into several branches at the end of the fifteenth century. Charles Eugène de Croy was born in the cadet line of the Counts of Roeulx descending from Jean III de Croy (1436–1505), the second son of Antoine le Grand (c. 1385–1475).[50] In the Siege of Buda, the rank of Charles Eugène de Croy among the officers was not as high as several other participants, and it seems very likely that the choice of him as a central character of the play was influenced by Croy being a member of a prominent dynasty of the southern Netherlands. Prince Croy is given a disproportionately important role in the dramatic events of the play as a key figure in the first face-to-face confrontation between the Ottoman and Christian sides.[51] He comes on stage just as the Christian soldiers storm the inner castle, where the pasha waits for them with a drawn sword, encouraging his men. Croy, when realising that it is the pasha he stands against, immediately calls to the soldiers to withdraw: "Back, men! spare the life / Of this valiant hero. My Lord put down your sword, / If you wish the Prince to give you clemency."[52] But Abdi Pasha refuses to do this and one of the solders shoots him dead. Croy can only respond with a bit-

[48] Van der Meulen, *De verovering*, 6.
[49] Szakály, *Buda visszafoglalásának emlékezete*, 12.
[50] R. Born, *Les Croÿ. Une grande lignée hennuyere d'hommes de guerre, de diplomates, de conseillers secrets, dans les coulisses du pouvoir, sous les ducs de Bourgogne et la Maison d'Autriche (1390–1612)* (Brussels 1981).
[51] Other Dutch news sources also mention Croy as one of the leaders of the last attack. Cf. *Dagverhaal van de vermaarde belegering der sterke stad Buda, of Offen* (...) [Day-to-day account of the renowned siege of the strong town of Buda, of Offen] (Amsterdam 1686), 81.
[52] Van der Meulen, *De verovering*, 38.

ter cry: "O Bloodthirsty one! Where does your bitter hate lead you!"[53] As the pasha's daughter, Arminde, rushes in and finds her father dead, Croy's words and deeds give further proof of his chivalry and humanity, for he takes Arminde into his protection and ensures the mortally wounded Toxali, Arminde's lover, that nobody will approach the girl.[54] Prince Croy is staged as a central character in the play, and an example of courageous and chivalric behaviour.

The infamous cruelty of the siege, which was a well-known topic in the news coverage of the events, is not shown on stage but described in the words of the chorus of burgher women of Buda at the start of the fifth act. Here Arminde and the chorus take turns in lamenting the fall of Buda. The women reprove Arminde, who is grieving over the death of her father, stating that her father at least died a hero's death; she should grieve instead those who stayed alive and will experience slavery, suffering and humiliation. The winners in the play spare the lives of the surviving prisoners. The author puts special emphasis on this deed by putting propagandistic words of amazement into the mouth of Enurchi, who sees that the religion of the Christians is more humane than his own:

> Now I see that the law and political administration / of Mahomet must bow before the teaching of Christianity. / The Koran has never taught us / To spare the enemy conquered by the power of weapons.[55]

The play ends with a song of victory glorifying the victory of Christendom over the religion of the Ottomans. Interestingly, this song is a type of Virgin Mary hymn, though up to this point there is no explicit sign of the veneration of the Virgin. She is described as the typological "Apocalyptic Madonna" or "Madonna of the Sun and Moon"[56] (Lat. *mulier amicta sole*) from the Book of Revelations (12:1), surrounded by rays of sun and treading on the crescent moon. This typology of the Virgin Mary became the symbol of victory over the Ottomans in Hungary from the fifteenth century onward, and the victory of the Christian troops in this play is explicitly attributed to the intermediation of the Madonna:

> The Virgin clothed in the sun / Treads on the crescent moon; / Make known the glory of Mary! / The helper and consoler of your state, / The

[53] Ibid., 38.
[54] Ibid., 40.
[55] Ibid., 47.
[56] The "woman clothed with the sun, with the moon under her feet," in Rev. 12:1. S. Bálint, *A Napbaöltözött Asszony* [The woman clothed in the sun], in *Sacra Hungaria: Tanulmányok a magyar vallásos népélet köréből* (Kassa [1944]), 19–27.

> mediator and refuge / Of the Kingdom of Hungary. / It is she who in such a cruel fight / Brought her son to your support, / And exhorted him against Mohammed.[57]

The hymn describes that the Virgin was not only active as a mediator between the believers and her Son, but was also instrumental in the victory by terrifying the grand vizier in an apparition, whose refusal to bring the relief troops is presented in the play as the main cause for the defeat of the Ottomans:

> Her nature, for us like honey, sweet, / Appeared before the Ottoman vermin / Terrifying them like war injuries; / She glanced with threatening eyes of fire / upon the face of the Grand Vizier / When he wanted to begin to attack.[58]

There is also explicit reference to the Virgin Mary as Patron of Buda; later the text emphasizes that no harm can come to this town "which is dedicated to you."[59]

The role of the Madonna in the hymn supports the thesis of a Catholic, southern Dutch origin to the play. On the other hand, it also illustrates a typical characteristic of the entire play, the conspicuously frequent references to the Hungarian historical context, especially when comparing this feature to the plays of Bidloo and Palensteyn. Hungarian soldiers are frequently mentioned, listed mostly neutrally among other nations: "They are coming, the Austrians, the heyducks,[60] the Hungarians, the Germans, the Bavarians, the Lotharingians and the Hussars."[61] At one point reference is made to Hungarian soldiers in a negative context, when Arminde, imagining her father's death, gives voice to her fears: "Who will then steer the unsteady rudder of the sinking Buda, / If your arm is no more? Who will withstand / The Hungarian vultures (with appetite for a prey of women and virgins)?"[62] But geographic references are also given.[63] The most con-

[57] Van der Meulen, *De verovering*, 49.
[58] Ibid., 50.
[59] "O Maghet Budaes Patrones!"; "Dees, u bevolen, Stadt," ibid., 50.
[60] Hung. *hajdúk*—free people in Hungary and the Balkans (fifteenth–eighteenth/nineteenth century), originally drivers of cattle, then also irregular troops, serving the princes of Transylvania among others; also a type of military force.
[61] Van der Meulen, *De verovering*, 32. Another example: "My docht, dat Duytschen, nogh Hungaren, Nogh Loteringers, nogh Hussaren," ibid., 42.
[62] Ibid., 26.
[63] Ibid., 33.

spicuous are the multitude of references to the Hungarian state and kingdom. Arminde calls Buda the pillar of the Hungarian state (*Dien suyl va't hongers-ryk*). Above we could read that Süleyman's ghost talks about the sceptre of the realm of Hungary, and some lines later he mentions the decline of the crescent moon in the Hungarian kingdom (*Hongers Koninghryck*).[64] Charles refers to Buda paradoxically as the "royal town rejoicing in her own fall" when he thanks Christ for the victory and thereby resolves the tension arising from the metaphor of the town representing the strength of the Ottoman Empire which should be ruined: "This ancient royal town, which has become estranged from your name, / Rejoices in her own fall as she takes up again your Cross."[65] The above-mentioned reference in the Hymn to the Virgin Mary also belong to this list. It would seem that the Hungarians are directly addressed in the appeal: "Praise Mary / the helper and consoler of your nation."[66]

The play attributed to van der Meulen shows not only thorough knowledge of the place and subject, but is set in a historical context wider than the other two authors' plays. With the inclusion of the ghost of Süleyman, the references to the defeat at Mohács and the end of the independent Kingdom of Hungary, he opens the historical horizon of the events. He therefore shows the recapture of Buda not only as a clash between the Ottoman Empire and the Holy League, and Christian forces allied in the Holy League, but through a historical perspective involving Hungary as well. The Hungarians are depicted as present on the scene and participating actively in the fight, in fact he emphasises the Hungarian state and the identity of Buda as a Hungarian royal town instead of framing it only as the Ottoman stronghold which has to be defeated. In this interpretative context, one of the scenes of the play can be given an interesting reading. At the end of the fifth act, Charles of Lorraine encounters the Bavarian Elector, whom he greets with an embrace, expressing hope that they will capture Belgrade with similar success. Then he addresses the soldiers:

> Oh manly nobility of the German might, / Defenders of the Empire of Mohamed's tyranny […] / No price is large enough as your deserved prize, / Your services weigh on the Hungarian crown, […] / To reward your valour and great courage / oh Heroes! is only fitting for the Emperor's Majesty: /

[64] Ibid., 13 and 11.
[65] Ibid., 46.
[66] Ibid., 49.

> His generosity overflowing to reward even the smallest / Wishes he could crown the head of every one of you.[67]

Prince Croy answers the speech in the name of the soldiers with the stereotypical words: "The honour of our blood, oh lord! to hazard for his crown, / Is greater encouragement for our courage, than the hope for a reward."[68] The change from line to line in the implications of the concept of the "crown" is striking. The courage of the soldiers and the victory achieved makes the Hungarian crown indebted to them, which is why the emperor would like to crown them each (with the laurels of heroes, it may be assumed, but this is not stated explicitly), which offer is gallantly refused by Prince Croy in the name of the protectors of the emperor's crown and the Christian Church. There is a reference to the crown in yet a different context a few lines above this text, in which the burgher women say of the death of Abdi Pasha: "Never can a hero win a higher crown, / Then when he dies for his Emperor."[69]

In the context of the play it is not a negligible fact that the Croy family traced their lineage back to the ancient Hungarian Árpád dynasty, which had great prestige in medieval Europe, especially because of their dynastic saints, for instance St. Elisabeth of Hungary (Elisabeth von Thüringen), canonised shortly after her death.[70] The genealogies all agreed that the legendary Marcus of Croy fled Hungary for France, where he married Catharina of Croy and Araines, and had to renounce his claim to the Árpádian throne. There was no agreement, however, on when the Croy line split off from the House of Árpád. According to Jacques de Bye, who traced the lineage of the Croy family all the way back to Attila and Nimrod and to Adam and Eve, Marc was the elder brother of Andrew III, the last king of Hungary from the Árpád dynasty.[71] Scohier claims that Marc was the son of the banished Stephen III, son of Andrew II, king of Hungary, and Queen Gertrude.[72] A third version emerges from a tractate of Justus Lipsius (1547–1606), which describes Marc as the son of Prince Andrew,

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[67] Ibid., 44–5.
[68] Ibid., 45.
[69] Ibid., 44.
[70] On the saints of the Árpád dynasty, see G. Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses: Dynastic Cults in Medieval Central Europe* (Cambridge 2002).
[71] [J. de Bye], *Livre contenant la généalogie et descente de ceux de la Maison de Croy tant de la Ligne Principale estant Chef du Nom et armes d'Icelle que des Branches et Ligne Collaterale de Ladicte Maison* (Antwerp[?], ca. 1612).
[72] J. Scohier, *La généalogie et descente de la très illustre Maison de Croy* (Douay 1589).

the youngest son of King Andrew II of Hungary.[73] In the late seventeenth century a branch of the Croy dynasty claimed the right to the Hungarian throne, which caused political and historical debates in the late eighteenth, nineteenth and early twentieth century.[74] Late nineteenth-century historiography and modern historiography has declared this claim invalid and based on fake charters.[75] The Croy family's coat of arms bore a blazon very similar to that of the Árpáds, an escutcheon barry of eight Gules and Argent, and the family placed much weight on their Hungarian ancestry. This is attested to not only by the frequently depicted family trees, but by the charter of Maximilian I granting the Duchy of Chimay to Charles I of Croy in 1486, in which he refers to them as the real and lawful descendants of the Hungarian kings.[76] It has yet to be uncovered in which ways and for what purposes the Hungarian royal lineage was used by the dynasty, but preliminary studies of Kees Teszelszky and myself show that the family did not hesitate to use Hungarian topoi.[77] There are several aspects that make it likely that the Croys were in some way involved in the play attributed to van der Meulen, either as procurer or influencing party. Even though the Árpádian descent is not referred to in the play, it seems likely

[73] J. Lipsius, *Diva Virgo Hallensis.Beneficia eius & miracula fide atque ordine descripta* (Antwerp 1605), 5. The work was dedicated by its author to Charles III de Croÿ (1560–1622) and was translated into many languages, among them Dutch.

[74] Born, *Les Croÿ*, 27–28. L. Thallóczy, "A Croy-irodalom" [De Croy literature], *Magyar Könyvszemle* 1 (1876), 189–193.

[75] The most recent short summary of the literature is A. Zsoldos, "Törvényes uralkodó, vagy szerencsés kalandor" [Rightful ruler or lucky adventurer], *História* 1 (2001), 9–11.

[76] "[E]x illustribus de Croy descendentibus, ex vera et legitima progenie seu origine Regum Hungariae." The charter was edited by Aubert Miraeus in his *Notitia ecclesiarum Belgii* (Antwerp 1630), which was re-edited by Johannes Franciscus Foppens together with other works of Miraeus on ecclesiastical history under the name, *Miraei opera diplomatica et Historica*, 4 vols. (Brussels 1723–48), the charter is published in vol. 1, 232–233. For the family tree, see for instance: *Een stad en een geslacht*: *Leuven & Croy* [A town and a family: Leuven and Croy] (Leuven 1987), 50.

[77] For instance, the French play about Saint Stephen, written by Jesuits emphasising the Árpádian dynastic roots of the family and the conspicuous devotion to Saint Elisabeth of Hungary, referred to by K. Teszelszky, "A magyar toposzok használata a kora újkori Németalföldön. (Szent Gellért, Szent István, Szűz Mária és a magyar korona megjelenése a németalföldi irodalomban)" [The use of Hungarian topoi in early modern Netherlands. Saint Gerardus, Saint Stephen, Holy Mary and the Hungarian crown in the Dutch literature, art and pamphlets], in *Pázmány nyomában. Tanulmányok Hargittay Emil tiszteletére*, ed. by A. Ajkay and R. Bajáki (Vác 2013), 1–10. See also his article in this volume.

that the emphatic place given to Charles Eugène de Croy beside the two military leaders, as well as making him a model of chivalry, point in this direction. Furthermore, the thorough knowledge and sympathy for the Hungarian viewpoint on the events throughout the play, the attribution of the victory to the Virgin Mary and perhaps even the frequent use and conceptual juggling involved in the theme of the Hungarian crown, should be interpreted in this context.

Conclusion

In all three plays one can see new evidence for the great interest with which the western part of Europe followed the wars against the Ottoman Empire and especially the conquest of Buda. All three authors make use of the popularity of the subject and the abundant information available to the public in other genres, especially news accounts, to give a literary reflection on a popular topic using different artistic approaches with varying success. All three plays share the orientalism typical of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, in which Turkish subjects, clothing, patterns and customs became popular in art, literature and everyday life. The plays of Palensteyn and van der Meulen are especially typified by this kind of preoccupation with the Ottoman world, because their choice of perspective allows a detailed view onto the scenes of Turkish "everyday life," putting in display exotic aspects such as women on their way to the mosque, eunuchs or the Koran. In light of recent scholarship on the image of Ottomans in dramas from the Republic of the Golden Age, which concludes that this was a negative picture due to the sources used, it is significant that in both these plays the Ottoman characters are depicted primarily in positive colours: they love their home, their religion and relatives, they have a high civilization, honourably fulfil their commitments and demand respect.[78] In the plays of Palensteyn and van der Meulen, the perspective of the narration gives an interesting twist to the events since the public sees the siege through the Turkish characters and experiences their fears and sufferings. The choruses of the Turkish and Jewish women, and burgher women, respectively, grieve for the fall and destruction of their own town. Both of these plays makes use of the epic tradition of the siege of Troy, directly in the case of van der Meulen, who finds an example to

[78] F. Blom. "Het venster op het Ottomaanse Rijk. De import van theater en nieuws over de Turk in de Republiek" [Window on the Ottoman Empire. The import in the Republic of theatre and news about the Turk], *De Zeventiende Eeuw* 29 (2013), 19–31.

follow in the Seneca's *Troades*, and indirectly in the case of Palensteyn, who falls back on the a *Gijsbrecht van Aemstel* of Vondel, making use of the Virgilian theme. One of the obvious consequences of this choice is the sympathy created for the besieged Ottomans.

The literary use and framing of Hungarians and the town of Buda differs in the three plays. Bidloo introduces Buda as the ancient capital of the Hungarian land, but presents the town as symbol of the enemy, which is now conquered and lies prostrate before the feet of Leopold. Emmerich Thököly is the only Hungarian historical figure to have a role, but he does not speak for himself, and is presented as the example of the rebel against lawful rule, a traitor whose fate it is to be despised by all sides. In Palensteyn's play, Hungarian references are almost completely lacking; Buda is an Ottoman stronghold and the battle is a fatal clash between the Ottomans and the Holy League. Miklós Zrínyi, though described as a preeminent military leader and example, is discussed entirely in Habsburg context in relation to the emperor. The single mention of Hungary is political, in the context of the emperor adding the kingdom to his domains. In the play attributed to van der Meulen, the opposing forces are presented with much greater nuance and knowledge of historical detail. Here Buda is described as the historic capital of the Kingdom of Hungary, the liberation of which was brought about by Christian forces, among whom also Hungarians fight. The religious affiliation is Catholic, especially in the final hymn, which attributes the victory to the Virgin Mary, in contrast to the other two plays where praise is given especially to Leopold.

If we look for evidence of the relationship of the Habsburg Empire with the provinces of the Netherlands, again one must conclude differences in the three plays. There is a general positive attitude towards the Habsburgs in all three, but while Bidloo praises Leopold and gives him all credit for the victory, he also refers to the freedom of religion, asking Leopold to show leniency. Palensteyn showers the Habsburg Empire with praise, and seems to make use of the narrative perspective to paint a sympathetic picture of the Ottomans and depict Charles of Lorraine as a person susceptible to cruelty, perhaps to discredit him as a representative of the Holy League and emphasise the Habsburg element. This might also show a sympathetic attitude towards the Ottomans arising from a Protestant viewpoint, but it might also be attributed to the author's lack of literary skills. Again a third approach can be identified in the play attributed to van der Meulen. The play has a strong Catholic emphasis and was therefore probably written in the Catholic southern provinces of the Netherlands, and so it cannot be expected that the author would criticise the lack of religious freedom. Nevertheless, its focus on the character of Prince Croy seems to

put the praise of the Habsburgs into perspective and emphasise the Netherlandish contribution to the victory. The efforts of the Croy family to use the material for dynastic political purposes can perhaps be discerned behind this aspect of the play. In any case, there is a conspicuous familiarity with the Hungarian historical context in the play written in the Habsburg dominated southern Netherlands, especially when compared to the other two plays. One can discern the shared cultural space of the southern Netherlands and the Kingdom of Hungary arising from the Habsburg rulers, even if these were two different branches of the dynasty. This shared culture probably accounts for the greater in-depth knowledge of and interest in the complexity of the political situation in the eastern regions of the lands of the Austrian Habsburgs.

The Netherlands had a strong tradition of using the dramatic genre as a ground to discuss and hash out political and religious questions of the day. The unique system of Chambers of Rhetoric, which were guilds or confraternities of laymen devoted to the practice of vernacular theatre and poetry, played an important role in the sixteenth century and still acted as intellectual centres in the seventeenth century.[79] One can deduce from the evidence presented here and from other plays with Hungarian themes that in the public opinion of both the Republic and the southern Netherlands, Hungary was associated with the questions of state and government, religion, succession and sovereignty. Since these were also considered relevant subjects by the Dutch-speaking audiences, the historical situations provided settings to explore ideas in the dramatic genre. It is remarkable how different the three adaptations of the story are, working with the same subject and approximately the same type of non-literary sources, and the different purposes they served, but the common feature is the exploration of concepts of political and religious nature. On the Netherlands in the seventeenth century, much still remains to be researched in order to make general conclusions about cultural relations and image formation concerning Hungary, but my hope was to show that the literary sources on the conquest of Buda deserve attention in this field.

[79] A.-L. Van Bruaene. "'A Wonderfull Tryumfe, for the Wynnyng of a Pryse': Guilds, Ritual, Theater, and the Urban Network in the Southern Low Countries, ca. 1450–1650," *Renaissance Quarterly* 59 (2006), 374–405.

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